



THIRTY-FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

AND OF THE

SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

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CONTENTS.

Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.....	5
Preparations for, and declaration of, Independence of Liberia.....	6
Prospective growth of Liberia.....	7
This result pleasing to early friends—and the citizens of Liberia.....	8
Impressions made on the colored people in the United States by Declaration of Independence.....	9
Condition of colored people here, will induce them to go to Liberia.....	10
Dr. Roberts and Dr. Smith—Purchase of Territory.....	11
Purchase of Territory—New Cesters—Slavers.....	12
Colonization the only means of stopping the slave trade.....	13
The Pons recaptives—claim against the U. S. Government for supporting—Receipts and Expenditures.....	14
Death of Dr. Tenney, and Hon. Mr. Huntington.....	15
Favorable appearances—Liberia Packet.....	16
Expedition sailed from New Orleans, 129 emigrants, expenses of.....	17
310 emigrants to be sent out—Great need of funds.....	18
\$50,000 needed—Annual Meeting of the Society—Mr. Dayton's speech.....	19
Speech of Hon. H. Clay—Formation of the Society.....	20
The Society has had to encounter difficulties.....	21
The separation of the two races, necessary to their mutual happiness.....	22
It is possible to transport the whole colored population.....	23
Liberia compared with Jamestown and Plymouth.—All great enterprises have had small beginnings.....	24
The General Government or the States may aid.—Difficulties in the way of colored people remaining in the United States.....	25
No other means so good as Colonization.....	26
The society congratulated on the past achievements.....	27
Resolutions adopted.—Officers of the Society elected.....	28
Board of Directors—Members present—Committees appointed.....	29
Treasurer's Report, Receipts and Expenditures, approved by the Auditing Committee.....	30
Secretary and Treasurer and Executive Committee elected—Resolutions.....	31
Auxiliary Societies urged to increase their efforts and enlarge their contributions to the Treasury—Adjournment.....	32
APPENDIX.—Information about going to Liberia.....	33
Land given each emigrant—Schools—Aid given by the Society.....	34
How to make a living in Liberia—Health.....	35
The grand motive for going to Liberia.....	36
The importance to every emigrant of being correctly informed in regard to their prospects.....	37
Emigrants must expect to begin life for themselves—They must not depend upon the Colonization Society.....	38
On their arrival in Liberia they are invested with all the rights of citizens.....	39
The importance of educating their children.....	40
Information—how to be obtained.....	41
The natives bound by treaties to abandon forever all participation in the slave trade.....	42
The soil produces abundantly—Difficulty of convincing colored people.....	43
They cannot hope for a permanent home in this country.....	44
The Government of Liberia considered as firmly established.....	45
Declaration of Independence.....	46
Appeal to the nations of the world.—Declaration of Rights.....	47
Manner of Elections—Powers of Government—Liberty of the Press.....	48
Senators and Representatives—qualifications.....	49
President, Vice President, and Secretaries.....	50
Judicial Department.—Miscellaneous Provisions.....	51
The Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration.....	52
The Constitution submitted to the people.—Insignia of the Republic of Liberia.....	53
J. J. Roberts' Inaugural Address.....	54
Settlement of the Colony.—Intercourse and difficulties with British traders.....	55
The intention of the Colonization Society to prosecute its work as vigorously as heretofore.....	56
Population of Liberia proper.—Capabilities of colored people for self-government.....	57
The people of Liberia have not acted rashly or unadvisedly, with respect to their independence.....	58
The redemption of Africa.....	59
Appeal to the citizens of the Republic of Liberia.....	60

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THIRTY-ONE years ago, the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY was organized and commenced its labors in the cause of humanity.

Twenty-five years ago, the first company of emigrants landed on Cape Montserado, to seek a home for themselves and their children.

Six months ago, the citizens of that colony organized the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, adopting a constitution and announcing to the world their independence! And now we meet to celebrate, as it were, the first anniversary of that infant nation, standing in lonely beauty on the African coast!

In reviewing the transactions of the past year, and entering upon the labors of the present, we are called upon to present our gratitude to the Great Ruler among the nations, for the distinguished favors which he has shown to our enterprise. Through his abundant goodness we are permitted to look to the past with feelings of pleasure, and to the future with anticipations of hope and encouragement!

The history of the past year is replete with events, in themselves of imposing magnitude, which are the more remarkable by the vast influence which they may hereafter exert in the fortunes of the whole African race. During this period, the unique political system, or elements of political power, which had been for years growing up on the western coast of Africa, has put on, for the first time, the form, and assumed the character, which it is likely to wear for centuries to come. The early history, and the peculiar manner of the formation of the Republic of Liberia, will doubtless be regarded hereafter as one of the most extraordinary, as well as fortunate, events of modern times. The principles and the policy have been totally unlike those which have in all other instances resulted in the planting of colonies, and the erection of States.

For nearly one-third of a century the American Colonization Society had been laboring to elevate a portion of the colored race from their depressed condition, to accustom them

Preparations for, and declaration of, Independence of Liberia.

to self-control, to inspire them with the feelings of self-respect, and a desire for improvement, and to train them in the arts and sciences, and thus to raise them to a commanding position among the nations of the earth. It had gathered together a few thousands of them who were willing to be pioneers in the great undertaking, who were bound together by some common principles of union, and who had implanted within them some correct estimate of the nature and consequences of the duties devolving upon them. This process had been going on, until there appeared to be among the colonists sufficient intelligence and virtue to conduct their own public affairs with honor and advantage.

There were also some things existing in their peculiar condition, and their relations to the leading governments of the world, which seemed to render the formation, by them, of an independent government indispensable to their future quietness and prosperity. England particularly had refused to recognize in the authorities of Liberia any right to exercise jurisdiction over their own territory, or to prescribe the terms on which others should hold intercourse with them. And British traders had repeatedly refused to pay the small duties imposed by the laws of Liberia on goods brought into her ports.

Under these circumstances, the Colonial Council at their session in January, 1845, passed a resolution,

calling the attention of the Society to the disabilities under which they labored, and proposing as a remedy some change in their political organization.

Accordingly, the Board of Directors at their meeting in January, 1846, proposed to the colonists to assume all the responsibilities of their government, and become, to all intents and purposes, an independent nation.

To this proposition, they, after much deliberation, yielded assent.—To effect it, considerable changes in their affairs were requisite, in making which the intervening time has been spent.

In July last, a convention of delegates elected by the people met in Monrovia, and after twenty-one days of deliberation adopted the form of a constitution which was submitted to the vote of the citizens in September, and was with great unanimity adopted. This constitution reflects upon them the highest honor. The new flag of the Republic was hoisted, and their independence declared and celebrated, with appropriate ceremonies. The past year, then, may be considered as fixing the epoch when the Republic of Liberia assumed its proper and permanent position in the political world!

If any doubts should be hazarded whether these measures are not premature—whether the institutions which have been thus established are demanded by the circumstances and strictly conformable to the state of society and the character and con-

Prospective growth of Liberia.

dition of the people, and that they cannot therefore be permanent? We can only hope that the same causes which have produced these effects, will continue to display their efficiency. Circumstances have all conspired to call for their independence. We therefore hope that their institutions may be found sufficiently well adapted to their situation and capacities to go quietly into practice. In that case, we need not wish for any thing better, as our own experience amply proves. They have had the good sense to copy after the most magnificent form of Government which the world has ever beheld! The institutions which have been the sources of so much happiness to the citizens of the United States have been the models for the formation of theirs. As far as their circumstances rendered possible, they have adopted the forms of government which exist in our own country!

They may therefore be expected to follow us, with perhaps a faltering step, and at a considerable distance, "*proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo*," in the brilliant career which we have been pursuing! They may increase in virtue and intelligence—advance in population, wealth, and commerce, and establish a prosperous, tranquil, and well governed Republic, which may ultimately give political character and importance to the whole continent of Africa. All this is yet wholly *in futuro*, and but imperfectly foreshadowed. But reasoning from the

past history of the enterprise to its present position, we may confidently anticipate it. To doubt, therefore, is unnecessarily to look on the dark side of the possible future, and apparently to nip in the bud the brilliant promise of this young Republic.

It cannot of course be anticipated, from present appearances, that they will enter immediately upon a career as splendid as that which the United States have been pursuing; but, without doing all that we have done and are likely to do, they may still accomplish much. Their character and institutions are founded substantially on the steadfast and immoveable rock of truth; and if the strong inducement to private virtue held out by their position only prevails on them to do what they know well enough to be their duty, the greatest practicable amount of good will be the result.

They inhabit a country almost boundless in extent. They cultivate a soil rich in all the most valuable productions of the earth. They control the resources of a commerce of immense value to all other nations. They have churches and schools, and the opportunities of social intercourse and the means of intellectual improvement. Under the operation of such a state of things, their character and morals must be improved, until they assume their proper rank in the human race, as rational beings. Their faculties will be developed, their hearts enlarged, and their spirits gladdened and refreshed; and, accord-

This result pleasing to early friends and the citizens of Liberia.

ing to the measure of their capacities, they will become virtuous and happy.

Such are some of the circumstances and anticipations which led the Board of Directors to recommend, and the citizens of Liberia to assume, their present national character.

To the early friends and patrons of this enterprise, the present result must be exceedingly gratifying, as a partial realization of their fondest hopes. They undertook the work in great fear and trembling. It was a thankless, and seemed almost an hopeless task. They labored amid discouragements, and breasted the most appalling obstacles. Amid scenes the most trying and days the most dark they persevered, unwilling to relinquish hope, and yet uncheered by any brilliant promise.—Many of their fellow-laborers became discouraged and gave up in despair. Some turned their hands against them, and from having been warmest friends, became bitterest enemies. Opposition arose from every quarter, and the scheme was branded as both impolitic and iniquitous. It was at length pronounced by many platform orators and public newspapers, to be dead and buried beyond the possibility of a resurrection!

But amid all these towering obstacles, it had a few friends who, with a courage almost superhuman, and a zeal deserving of all praise, stood by it, and with self-denial and sacrifice, with labor and liberality, pushed forward its operations.—Many of these, noble spirits they were,

have not lived to see the present day. They have rested from their labors.

To those who survive, of whom the *most distinguished* is now president, we tender our warmest thanks, our heartfelt acknowledgments, and we congratulate them on beholding the result of their labors in the present developed manhood of the child of their prayers and their hopes!—They bore the burden and the heat of the day, and we, who are younger in the field, have, as it were, entered into their labors, and are permitted to rejoice with them, as we behold the beautiful structure which has arisen in Africa as a monument to their praise!

We cannot, in this connection, refrain from paying a tribute to the early settlers of Liberia. When they look back to their first landing on the heights of Montserado to lay their destinies there, and remember the many dark hours of their trial, and the long years of their toils, the perils they encountered, and the afflictions they have felt, it must be sweet to reflect upon their present quiet homes and organized nationality.—May the proud satisfaction which they naturally feel, at seeing themselves raised to a commanding height among the nations of the world, be tempered with a sentiment of awe, while they consider the immense responsibility, the grave and sacred duties, involved in the exercise of so much power!

The impression made in this country and elsewhere by the De-

Impressions made on the colored people in the United States by Declaration of Independence.

DECLARATION of the INDEPENDENCE of LIBERIA, is, and will continue to be, of immense value to the cause of Colonization. Already among the colored people has a most favorable effect been produced. A convention of between seven and eight hundred of them, in Illinois, has selected one of their number, and authorised him to go to Liberia as their agent, and return and report the facts to them. In the city of New York another mission has been appointed for a similar purpose. And, although it is but a short time since the Constitution of Liberia was published in this country, we have learned that in many places it has called forth the approbation of the more intelligent among them, and that a determination to emigrate and become a part of that free and happy community, is beginning to prevail.

It may appear rather strange that it should be so, and yet it is a fact, that, among many of the colored people themselves, there has prevailed the greatest doubts whether they were capable, under the most favorable circumstances, of governing themselves, and whether Africa could ever be made to afford to her children a safe retreat from the ills which betide them. To all such, the result of the experiment already made comes with cheering influence. It is like the sunlight of truth breaking forth in gentle beams, and writing above their depression, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

This work of conviction and conversion among the colored people in the free States, must go on until the tide of emigration sets in towards Liberia with great force.

Circumstances existing at present, touching their position and prospects in the United States, will undoubtedly hasten their decisions, and convince them of their only rational policy.

All the developments of society in this country are rapidly establishing the truth of the policy of the American Colonization Society, that the most feasible way to elevate the African race, and to bestow upon them those civil, social, and political privileges which are the inalienable birth-right of mankind, is to separate them from the overshadowing influence of a stronger and more intelligent race, and place them in a situation where, free as the air they breathe, and untrammelled as the bold eagle in mid heaven, they may start in the career of personal improvement. As far as we can ascertain or understand the indications of the times, the free States are becoming every year more fixed and settled in their policy of prohibiting the introduction of colored people from the slave States, and of preventing those already in them from rising to a participation in any of the privileges of citizenship. We say not that this policy is wise or right. But simply, that it is a fixed fact, which cannot be changed until society is completely revolutionized in its modes of thought and feeling.

Condition of colored people here, will induce them to go to Liberia.

Take, for example, the resolution passed by a vote of 92 to 43, in the Convention of the State of Illinois, met to draft a new constitution, proposing to prohibit free persons of color from settling in the State, and to prevent masters from sending their slaves into the State to be liberated; or the result of the late effort to allow them to vote in New York, which was lost by an overwhelming majority; or, in Connecticut, where it was voted down by four to one.— Their home, then, is not here. Reasonable and thinking men every where among them, are beginning to see and feel the true state of the case. As they become more enlightened, they will see and feel this state of things more deeply; and if, in these circumstances, we can show them that Liberia is a desirable place for them, far removed from all these embarrassments, they will be convinced that their true policy is to emigrate. We, therefore, confidently believe the time will come, when thousands of them will fly to their fatherland, paying their own expenses, and beckoning others to follow.

It is not, therefore, for a moment to be imagined, that, because Liberia has become independent, the work of Colonization has come to a conclusion. By no means. Henceforth the Colonization Society is the helper and supporter of a new state, instead of as heretofore, the planter and protector of a colony. Liberia must not now be left to struggle alone, and unaided to meet the increased responsi-

bilities of her position. Her independent character places her claims to our sympathies upon new ground. She needs more men in all the departments of her government, in all the branches of her industry, in all the channels of her commerce, in all her churches and her schools. These men must, for the present, mainly be sent from this country. Most of them are destitute of means to defray their own expenses. The Society must raise the money and aid them to the full extent of their necessities. As far as all the appropriate duties of Colonization are concerned, the Society stands related to Liberia in precisely the same situation that it did before their independence was declared. It is, by this measure, relieved from the appointment of the Governor, and the payment of his salary, and other expenses connected with the administration of the government; and thus it will be enabled to apply its funds more directly to the sending out of emigrants and their support during the period of their acclimation. It will continue to sympathise with the citizens of Liberia in all their trials, to aid them in all their noble endeavors to do good, and to send forth, to the full extent of its means, emigrants to be incorporated into the Republic of Liberia, upon the same terms, and with the same rights and privileges, as has heretofore been the case.

HENRY J. ROBERTS, a colonist, and brother of Gov. Roberts, who has been studying medicine at the

Dr. Roberts and Dr. Smith—Purchase of Territory.

Pittsfield Medical Institute, during the regular course, took his M. D. last October, with great credit and honor to himself and his friends.— He will sail in the *Liberia Packet* on her next voyage, which, we presume, will be in a few days. He goes out with greatly increased attachment to Liberia. He has no desire to remain in the United States. He left this country at too young an age to understand and appreciate the social, moral, and political disabilities under which his race labors here. But he has now a full conception of them, and, in contrast with their condition in Liberia, he feels it deeply. It is, therefore, not strange that he is impatient to reach his chosen home. He is well prepared to practice the profession which he has chosen, and to render himself generally useful there.

It will be remembered that he is indebted to our Colonial Physician, J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D., for his early education in connection with considerable practice, having studied with him two years before he came to this country.

James S. Smith, who was his fellow student in Liberia, is now in this country prosecuting his studies. He has attended one course of lectures at Pittsfield, Mass., and is now attending one in Albany, N. Y. When he shall have completed his studies and returned to Liberia, we hope to be able to dispense entirely with the services of a white physician.

As far as internal peace and pros-

perity is concerned, in the welfare of the citizens of Liberia, they have been highly blessed during the past year with the exception of an unprecedented flood in the Sinou river, which caused much damage to the crops of the natives and colonists settled on its banks. The settlement of Greenville, situated four miles up the river, was completely inundated, the farms for two miles around being four feet under water.

In his last annual message to the Legislature, Gov. Roberts remarks :

“On our present meeting, it is my first duty to invite your attention to the providential favors which these colonies have experienced during the past year, in the unusual degree of health dispensed to the inhabitants, in the rich abundance with which the earth has rewarded the labors of the husbandman, and in the success which has attended the efforts of our merchants and traders.

“In the successful cultivation of other branches of industry, and in the progress of general improvement everywhere manifest, favorable to the national prosperity, there is just occasion also for our mutual congratulations and thankfulness.

“I have the satisfaction of informing you that the market-house in this town has been completed. * *

I am happy to be able to inform you that the state of our finances continues to fulfil our expectations. * *

* The revenue received during the last year exceeds by a small amount that of the preceding; and it may reasonably be expected that the receipts of the ensuing year, with the sum now in the Treasury, will be sufficient to defray the current demand of the year, and meet any expense which may be incurred, should

Purchase of Territory. New Cesters—Slavers.

the Legislature adopt measures to that effect in carrying out the wishes of the people in regard to forming a new government."

Considerable progress has been made in the purchase of Territory during the year. Gov. Roberts, in his message, remarks:

"Since the last annual meeting of this Legislature, another important acquisition of territory has been made. In February last, the natives occupying the lands lying between Blue Barra and Grand Cess, the territory of Settra Kroo, comprising about six miles of sea-coast excepted, ceded to this government, including the rights of sovereignty, their native territories; also two tribes further south, occupying the territory known as Tassoo and Battoo Bay; reserving for their members only what is sufficient to maintain them in an agricultural way. A few days ago, Gen. Lewis, commissioned on the part of this government, succeeded in purchasing about fifteen miles of sea-coast, comprising portions of the territories of Manna, Carroo, and Timboo.

"It is understood, in each case, that we shall extend to them our patronage and protection; that we will establish trading factories among them, furnishing them necessaries at moderate prices, in exchange for their commodities, and protect them against the incursions of their marauding neighbors."

And in his dispatch of the 28th June, he says:

"I hasten to transmit you copies of deeds for lands purchased from the natives since December last. These purchases comprise the entire territories of Poor River, Rock Cess, Sangum, and Little Battoo, and a part of the territory of Grand Colih; and have cost the Society, exclusive of

the expenses of the vessel and commissioners, sixteen hundred and sixteen dollars and fifty cents.

"The commissioners returned late in April, since which time, in consequence of the great difficulty of assembling the natives at this season of the year, when they are all more or less, engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the unfavorableness of the weather, which during the last five or six weeks, has been very rainy, with high winds—no further purchases have been made. The vessel, however, with a suitable cargo of goods, is now ready for sea, and will be despatched as soon as the weather becomes sufficiently settled."

More recently they have succeeded in purchasing the northwest section of the Little Cape Mount Country, or all that part of it lying northwest of the Little Cape Mount River, extending along the seaboard about nine miles, and from thirty to forty miles into the interior.

In his dispatch of the 29th October, Gov. Roberts says: "The sloop *Eronday* will be dispatched early next week with Commissioners, and a suitable cargo of merchandise, to negotiate, if possible, for the territories of Settra Kroo, Grand Cess, and the unpurchased tracts in the neighborhood of New Cesters. We shall not be able to secure the New Cesters country except at a very extravagant price, as long as the slavers continue their establishments there. Within the last three months they have succeeded, notwithstanding the vigilance of the officers of the men-of-war, in shipping two cargoes of slaves. One, I am told by a French

Colonization the only means of stopping the Slave Trade.

officer, is an American vessel; rather she *was* American, a few hours before the slaves were shipped. This success has so elated them, that they now openly avow their determination to prevent any negotiation for the territory, and have recently made large presents to the chiefs, on condition that they will not transfer their territory to the Americans."

This slave factory ought to be broken up. Is it not strange that with the men-of-war of two powerful nations stationed on that coast, and the factory being known, it being the only one now existing on a coast of more than four hundred miles in extent, and being capable of no defence, should still be able to ship within a few months upwards of a thousand slaves? This case furnishes a striking illustration of the inefficiency of naval forces in breaking up, or even arresting the slave trade. Men-of-war have lain within sight of this factory for weeks at a time, watching the slaver, which was hanging round waiting his opportunity. At length, they leave the ground to cruise for a season up or down the coast, the slaver seizes his chance, dashes in, takes on board his cargo, and in less than a night is out of danger.

Now, look again. You give to Liberia the sum necessary to purchase that territory, even at the enormous price which is asked for it, and in less than twenty-four hours the colonial authorities would break up the factory, liberate the slaves, and

probably hang the perpetrators of such enormous crime! Very soon the natives, having been removed from under the accursedly corrupting influence of the slave trade, would turn their attention to some honest pursuits. They would begin to associate with the colonists and the native tribes more immediately under their influence, and they would soon come to regard the slave trade with horror, and could not be induced to engage in it again for any consideration. Thus a permanent and effectual check would be given to the traffic, and ultimately the natives would rise in the scale of intelligence and civilization, and become useful and happy members of society. And all this probably at a far less cost than it took to pay the expenses of the men-of-war for the few weeks they watched that factory!—Could any thing more beautifully illustrate the superiority of Colonization over every other means which have been resorted to for the suppression of the slave trade?

In this light, it will appear very unreasonable that this Society had to make provision for the support of the recaptives landed at Monrovia from the slaver *Pons*, by one of the U. S. men-of-war. This vessel, it will be remembered, was seized with about 900 slaves on board, of whom about one hundred and fifty died before they reached Monrovia. Seven hundred and fifty-six were landed, of whom nearly all were under 19 years of age. The U. S. Govern-

The Pons recaptives—claim against the U. S. Government for support—Receipts and Expenditures.

ment making no provision for their support they were thrown upon the mercy of the colony.

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors, a committee was appointed to memorialize the Executive and Congress, asking remuneration for the heavy expenses incurred. But nothing has yet been done in the case. We trust that it will not be long before the government will do us the justice which is demanded by every consideration of honor and propriety. We ask nothing more than a fair compensation; and it is not difficult to determine what that is.

On the 25th February, 1828, the Hon. Mr. McDuffie, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill to abolish the agency for recaptured Africans in Liberia, to transfer the property belonging to it to the Colonization Society, and pay the Society *fifty dollars* for the support of every re-captive delivered to its agents. Mr. McD. reported this bill fixing that amount not as a favor to the Society, but as an act of justice on behalf of the government.—Fifty dollars each, therefore, may be considered as the lowest amount which it was considered ought to be paid. If any person thinks this is too much, let him find any where a community who will take that number of wild, naked and starving savages, and provide for them as permanent members of their society, for a less amount. No such community can be found. Why, then, should

Liberia do it for less? Allowing, then, \$50 each, it gives us the sum of \$37,800. This is not large, if we consider the amount of food, raiment, house room, medical attendance, and education, which must be furnished for them, until they are able to take care of themselves! Why, the officers of the man-of-war which captured the *Pons* received, over and above their ordinary salaries for the time being, as prize money, upwards of \$18,000! And yet there is no comparison between the amount of service rendered in the two cases!

Certainly, therefore, our government will not refuse to meet this equitable claim against them? Were it not for Liberia what would the United States do with these poor victims of the slave trade, who may be rescued by our men-of-war?

The receipts of the Society the past year, including the balance on hand as per last report, were \$32,101 11. The balance of cash in the treasury at the present time is \$268 46.

But the expenditures were actually several thousand dollars more than appears in the above statement, owing to the fact that we despatched a vessel from New Orleans on the 7th instant with 129 emigrants, none of the expenses of which are included in the above statement.

Several causes have operated to make the receipts less than we had anticipated.

There has been no case of immediate and pressing necessity for which means were indispensable.—

Death of Dr. Tenney, and Hon. Mr. Huntingdon.

The fund for the purchase of territory, which had so eloquently plead for us the two preceding years had been completed. The collections which were made in all parts of the country for the suffering poor in Ireland, materially interfered with the operation of our agents, and diminished our receipts, so that in common with other benevolent societies our receipts have fallen short of what we had anticipated.

We have received very little from legacies the past year, and our auxiliary societies have rendered us less assistance than at any former period. In the Southwest we have had no agent at all during the year, and that hitherto fruitful field has yielded us scarcely any assistance.

Some of our most active and successful agents and fellow-laborers have retired from the field, and engaged in other more pleasant and less laborious avocations. We have not had it in our hearts to reproach them; but we have felt the loss most deeply, and been unable, as yet, to supply their places.

One of our agents, who from his age, experience, and great wisdom and prudence, had been most useful in winning public favor and influencing the clergy to open their pulpits and favor the cause in Massachusetts, has ceased from his labors on earth, and his works do follow him. Our friends will readily understand that we allude to the Rev. C. J. Tenney, D. D., of whom they have never heard any thing but good, and they

will be prepared to sympathise with us in this afflictive event.

It is also our melancholy duty to record the death of the Hon. J. W. Huntingdon, of Connecticut, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, and a member of the last Board of Directors, who was present at our meeting a year ago, and aided, by his council and wisdom, in the deliberations of that occasion.

We have received during the year many tokens of increasing favor and attachment to this cause. The number of ministers who preach a sermon annually in behalf of this cause has been considerably increased.—The churches which place colonization with the list of benevolent societies to which they intend to make an annual contribution has been greatly enlarged. The political papers throughout the country are advocating the claims of this enterprise. They abound in notices of Liberia, with extracts from the African Repository, and with reports of sermons and addresses, delivered by distinguished speakers, on the subject.

The Rev. Dr. Humphrey, late President of Amherst College, has been laboring in the cause for some months. He has been admitted to the principal churches in Boston and New York, at their regular hours of worship on Sabbath, and has been heard with the deepest interest;—misapprehensions have been removed, and many new friends have been made.

Such would not have been the

Favorable appearances. *Liberia Packet.*

as a few years ago. In many instances a Colonization agent would not even have been allowed the use of the church on a week-day evening, much less would he have been allowed to enter it on the Sabbath, and at the regular time of public worship. Here then, and the same thing is true to a certain extent in other parts of the country, we see one evidence of a favorable change of sentiment respecting this Society.

Several of our agents have been employed in fields hitherto almost abandoned entirely as barren and unfruitful. Their labors have been arduous and their receipts have been exceedingly small, and but for the prospective good which they have done, we should not have continued them. But we have thought it best not to withdraw them until a fair experiment was made. They have, therefore, continued to talk and preach, and circulate documents, and publish articles in the papers, for the purpose of calling public attention to the Society, and ultimately of exciting a strong feeling in its favor. And they give us assurances that this actually has been done to some extent, and that the way is manifestly preparing for a more extended interest.

From the financial statement it will be seen that the expenses of agents the past year have been large. The expediency of spending money in this way may be doubted by some. But a little reflection will doubtless place the matter in a different light. There are many parts

of the country where very little has ever been said about the principles or operations of the Colonization Society. Scarcely any thing is known on the subject. There are other places where the community have, through various causes, been so prejudiced against the institution, as to require very great exertion to set them right. They have no adequate idea of the immense amount of good which the Society is accomplishing.

In these circumstances we cannot suppose that they will make contributions for its support. On this account agents must be employed to change the public sentiment, to indoctrinate the people, and to prepare the way for future collections, or we must give up the expectation that this change will be effected in any reasonable time. Agencies, too, will be more expensive in these regions than in others. But the necessity for agencies, and their expense, will diminish just as adequate information becomes generally diffused through the community.

The "*Liberia Packet*," to which allusion was made in the last Annual Report, has thus far proved a profitable investment to her owners, and a powerful auxiliary to the cause of Colonization. She more than meets the most sanguine expectations of her projectors. She has proved a vast convenience as well as a saving of expense to this Society, as she takes out our emigrants at lower rates than any other vessel could.

Expedition sailed from New Orleans, 129 emigrants, expenses of.

She sailed from Baltimore on her second voyage on the 3d day of last September, with eighty-one emigrants, of whom *forty* were sent out by this Society. She took out also a full cargo of goods and several passengers in the cabin.

She was expected back again in time to have sailed on her third voyage about the middle of the present month. We have made arrangements for the departure of about fifty emigrants in her.

We have not the means to defray the expenses of this expedition at the present time. But as the emigrants are mostly persons whose freedom is offered them, if we can send them out, we have not felt authorized to decline. In thus sending them we must incur a heavy debt, and we rely upon our friends to furnish us the means of paying it.

On the 7th instant the bark "Nehemiah Rich," chartered by this Society, sailed from New Orleans for Monrovia, with one hundred and twenty-nine emigrants on board, and a good supply of provisions, and timber to build their houses. Of the emigrants, six were from Illinois, a free family of great respectability.—Twenty-eight were from Kentucky, sent out by the Colonization Society of that State. Among these are three, who have been liberated by the colored people, and commissioned to go as their agents, and return and report the results of their visit. *Twenty-three* were from Eutaw, Alabama. They were

left by the late Rev. Mr. Wither- spoon to the Hon. Henry Clay, and he sent them to Liberia. *Thirty-five* were from Louisiana. They were liberated by Henry Patterson, Esq., of Baltimore, who gave them a liberal outfit and will pay the expenses of their transportation and support for six months in Liberia. Too much praise cannot be given to this gentleman for his distinguished kindness to these people. *Thirty-five* were from Mississippi. They are a part of the large family left to this Society several years ago by the late Captain Ross, of that State. It is known that a suit has been pending about these people for many years past. We have lately effected a compromise by which we secure the liberty of the people, but get nothing to defray the expenses of their transportation, and settlement in Liberia. We have received and sent out as pioneers the above number, and are to send the remaining *two hundred* at the close of the present year.

The bills and accounts for the expedition from New Orleans, on the 7th instant, are not yet fully made up, and are, therefore, not included in the transactions of the past year. We are not able to say precisely what the whole expense will be, but we have evidence that it will not fall short of \$7,000. This large expenditure is mainly owing to the fact, that under the operation of the acts of the 22d February and 4th March last, "regulating the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels," we

310 emigrants to be sent out—Great need of funds.

were obliged to charter a much larger vessel than was needed to give good accommodations to the emigrants, or than we had freight to fill. As the payments of this expedition are yet to be made, it will appear that we have incurred a heavy debt in order to send away these people. Indeed we could not do otherwise. Their departure could not be postponed, and we were not advised of the certainty of their going long enough before hand to beg the means to pay their expenses. Could we have been assured, six months ago, that they would all have been ready to depart when they did, we should, doubtless, have been able to raise money enough to pay the expenses of their transportation and settlement in Liberia.

Were the whole transactions of the Society brought up to the present time, there would be found a debt against it of upwards of \$9,500.

We are, therefore, constrained to appeal to our friends for an enlargement of our resources for the year to come. Without this, it will be impossible for us to meet our obligations and perform all the duties which are expected of us.

We have already engaged to send to Liberia, in less than a year from this time, *three hundred and ten emigrants*, and we are expecting applications for many others. Two of our friends in the South assure us that there will be in their vicinity from ninety to a hundred and twenty ready to depart in the spring, and we

have agreed to despatch a vessel, as soon as any number over sixty are ready. We have no applications from Kentucky as yet. There will, no doubt, be another company from there ready in the course of the year. And we may expect many more applications from various places, before those who are now ready have departed, and before the present indebtedness of the Society has been paid.

The average expense of transporting to Liberia, and supporting there six months, each emigrant, may be set down at \$50. This includes outfit, passage money, and provisions on the voyage, a house to live in, provisions, medicine and medical attendance, and nursing when they are sick, for six months, and more or less aid in various other ways in establishing them comfortably, and in a condition to thenceforth take care of themselves.

To send out the 310, as we have already engaged to do, will therefore cost \$15,500! Add \$2,500 to meet the expenses of sending out the fifty in the Liberia Packet, expected to sail this month from Baltimore, to which we have alluded in another part of this report, and who are not included in the above number, and the *contingent* expenses of sending the vessel from Savannah, Georgia, in the spring, with say one hundred emigrants, which would be \$5,000, and we have the sum of \$23,000, which we shall need the coming year to meet one single item of our

\$50,000 needed—Annual Meeting of the Society—Mr. Dayton's speech.

operations, the transportation and support of emigrants.

If we add, for the present indebtedness of the Society, say \$9,500, and indispensable contingent expenses in this country, say \$4,000, and in Liberia \$6,000, we have \$42,500 as the lowest possible estimate of the means indispensable to meet our present engagements. But we expect many more emigrants before the close of the year. What shall be

done with them? They are needed in Liberia, and ought not to be detained in this country.

To prosecute vigorously and with advantage our operations during the year upon which we now enter, and not incur a heavy debt, will therefore require at least \$50,000! And for this amount we make the most respectful, but urgent, appeal to the country!

Thirty-first Anniversary of the American Colonization Society.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1848.

THE American Colonization Society met in the Hall of the House of Representatives at seven o'clock P. M.

The Hon. HENRY CLAY, President of the Society, took the chair and called the meeting to order.

The Rev. WM. WILSON, of Cincinnati, Ohio, invoked the Divine blessing.

The SECRETARY of the Society read extracts from the Annual Report.

After the report was read, on motion of Prof. MACLEAN, of Princeton, New Jersey, it was referred to the Board of Directors for publication.

The Hon. WM. L. DAYTON, of New Jersey, then rose and offered and advocated the following:

Resolved, That in the recent formation of a constitution by the citizens of Liberia, and the declaration of their independence, and the assumption by them of all the duties and responsibilities of their own Government, we recognise the fulfil-

ment, in part, of the original design of this Society.

This resolution was supported by the honorable mover in an able, eloquent, and forcible speech, though commenced amidst not a little confusion, produced by the concourse in the Hall and the struggles for entrance which still continued at every avenue of access to it, asserted its own power on the minds of the auditory, and gradually reduced the vast assembly to order, and held it in mute and delighted attention. We expected to have published a full report of his speech, but are at present unable to do so, the reason for which the following letter from him will explain:

WASHINGTON CITY,

12th February, 1848.

DEAR SIR:—In your note of this morning, you say that you have promised a report of my remarks at the late meeting of the Colonization Society; and that Mr. Stansbury, the reporter, informs you that he left his notes of the speech in my hands for correction.

Speech of Wm. H. Clay—Formation of the Society.

This is, I believe, all so; but as I was no party to your promise, and now have the reporter's notes in my own possession, I may be considered as having fairly command of the question! I beg therefore to say, that my remarks are too crude and meagre, in my judgment, to merit publication. For the very kind terms in which you and others have chosen to speak of them, I am thankful, but this cannot influence my purpose.

Truly yours,

WM. L. DAYTON.

Rev. W. McLAIN,

Secretary of Col. Society.

The resolution having been adopted, Mr. CLAY rose and addressed the audience nearly as follows:

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society: I have been committed to say a few words on this occasion, rather against my own wishes, and quite unexpectedly. Indeed, I believe it has been advertised in some of the papers that I am to make an address this evening. Now, though I have no reproaches to make against those who have thus placed me in so conspicuous a position, I have no expectation of being able to fulfil their anticipations or to do justice to the subject. I have just terminated an arduous journey of many hundreds of miles, made in midwinter; and wherever I have been it has invariably been my lot to be surrounded by throngs which did not leave to me the time necessary to make that preparation which should ever precede the attempt to address an auditory so intelligent and so highly respectable as this. I have come here without a solitary note, with no prepared or elaborate speech, and with but little mental preparation; and, as I have no formal and highly finished address to deliver, I would advise all who have come with any great expectations of a speech to leave the hall.

And yet I own there is some propriety that I should say a few words to you this evening, apart from the circumstance which has been more than once alluded to, that I was one of that company which, some thirty years ago, met to form this Society. It is now some years since I had the honor of sitting in your society as I now do, and allow me to say that in all human probability this is the last instance in which I shall ever be permitted to do so. Great events too have happened to the colony since I was last here.

You have been told by the eloquent gentleman who preceded me of the formation of this association. It is now nearly thirty years since Mr. Finley, Mr. Caldwell, and some other gentlemen met by agreement with a view to form a Colonization Society. I was one of that number. We did not intend to do more or less than establish on the shores of Africa a colony, to which free colored persons with their own voluntary consent might go. There was to be no constraint, no coercion, no compulsory process to which those who went must submit: all was to be perfectly voluntary and unconstrained in any manner or degree. Far, very far, was it from our purpose to interfere with the slaves, or to shake or affect the title by which they are held in the least degree whatever. We saw and were fully aware of the fact that the free white race and the colored race never could live together on terms of equality. We did not stop to ask whether this was right or wrong: we looked at the fact, and on that fact we founded our operations. I know, indeed, that there are men, many of them of high respectability, who hold that all this is prejudice; that it should be expelled from our minds, and that we ought to recognise in men, though of different color, from ourselves, members

The Society has had to encounter difficulties.

of our common race, entitled in all respects to equal privileges with ourselves. This may be so according to their view of the matter; but we went on the broad and incontestible fact, that the two races could not, on equal terms, live in the same community harmoniously together. And we thought that the people of color should be voluntarily removed, if practicable, to their native country, or to the country at least of their ancestors: there they might enjoy all those blessings of freedom and equality of condition which to them were impossible here. Our object, let me repeat it, was limited to the free; we never thought of touching in any manner the title to slave property.—We hoped to be able to demonstrate the practicability of colonizing them; and when that should have been demonstrated, those who owned slaves might avail themselves of it or not—might send liberated slaves to Africa or not, precisely as they pleased.—All our purpose was to establish, if we could, a colony of free colored men, and thus to demonstrate to the world that colonization was practicable.

It has been truly stated, that from the day of its formation to the present hour, the Society has been surrounded with difficulties. It has had to stand the fire of batteries both in front and rear, and upon both flanks. Extremes of opinion and of action, which could unite in nothing else, united in assaulting us. Those who cared for the safety of the institution of slavery assailed us on one hand, while the Abolitionists assaulted us on the other. But on what ground should either oppose such an enterprise? Our ground in regard to both was total non-interference. We meant to deal only with colored persons already free. This did not interfere with the projects of the Abolitionists? For myself, I believe those projects to be impracticable;

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and I am persuaded that if the same energy and effort which have been expended in getting up abolition movements, had been directed to the work of colonization, a vast amount of benefit would have resulted to the cause of humanity and to the colored race. Why should they attack us? We do not interfere with them.—Their project is to emancipate at one blow the whole colored race. Well, if they can do that, then our object begins. The office of colonization commences only where theirs would end. The colored race being here in the midst of us, and not being capable of enjoying a state of equality with the whites around them, our object is to carry them to a place where they may enjoy, without molestation, all the benefits of freemen. Here is no incompatibility; and in point of fact we have thus far gone on our way without disturbing any body, either on the right or on the left.

But it is said that our Society is incapable of effecting any great object. That our aims never can be accomplished without aid from the State governments, or unless the general government shall send out of the country all the free blacks. It is our purpose to show the power of colonization, in competent hands, fully to carry out the benevolent ends we have in view, to work all the great results for which this Society was formed. Our purpose is to demonstrate to the American people, that if they choose to take hold of this great project in their State legislatures, or otherwise, the end sought is practicable, and the principle of colonization competent to carry abroad all the colored population who shall be emancipated. That demonstration has been made.

But it is urged that this is the country of the black man; and that therefore he should not be sent to Africa. Africa is not his home. Why,

The separation of the two races, necessary to their mutual happiness.

it is true, in some sense, that every native-born colored man may claim this as his country. And so might the Israelites, while captives in Egypt, have claimed Egypt as their native country; and those born while travelling through the wilderness to the land promised them, might still regard themselves as natives of that wilderness. But still, in the contemplation of that infinite and all-wise Being who directed the progress of that remarkable people, Egypt was not their country, still less was that howling wilderness, where many of them first saw the light. It was Canaan, the land of promise; and thither accordingly were they taken, as to their home. Who can doubt that Africa is the real home of the black man, though, as a casual event, he may have had his birth on these shores? There his race was found, and there alone, till it was torn from thence by the hand of violence. Here, though nominally free, he cannot live in equality with those around him; and it does seem to me one of the disposals of an all-wise Providence to permit him to have been brought here with an ultimate view to the further accomplishment, by him, of his own inscrutable, but wise and merciful designs.

The separation of free colored people from the white race is a measure recommended not only by the mutual and the separate good of both, but by the prospect that Africa, which has so long lain in barbarism, worshipping unknown and forbidden gods, may thus be brought to the light and blessings of Christianity. Those who met to form this Society saw not only that great good would accrue from their design to the colored race, by elevating their character, and restoring them to the possession of rights they never can enjoy here, but that it would be a probable means, in the end, of car-

rying to Africa all the blessings of our holy religion, and all the benefits of our civilization and freedom. What Christian is there who does not feel a deep interest in sending forth missionaries to convert the dark heathen, and bring them all within the pale of Christianity? But what missionaries can be so potent as those it is our purpose to transport to the shores of Africa? Africans themselves by birth, or sharing at least the African blood, will not all their feelings, all their best affections, induce them to seek the good of their countrymen? At this moment there are between four and five thousand colonists who have been sent to Africa under the care of this Society; and I will venture to say that they will accomplish as missionaries of the Christian religion more to disseminate its blessings than all the rest of the missionaries throughout the globe. Why; gentlemen, what have we heard? In the colony of Liberia there are now twenty-five places of public worship dedicated to the service of Almighty God, and to the glory of the Saviour of men; while thousands of the neighboring heathen are flocking into the colony to obtain a knowledge of the arts, and who may ultimately receive the better knowledge which Christianity alone can bestow.

These are the great purposes we had in view when a few of us met to form this Society. As soon as a purchase of territory had been effected by the agent we dispatched to Africa for that purpose, the first colonists, about twenty-five years since, left the American shores, and were safely transplanted to the land of their ancestors.

I know it was then urged, as it has been since, that other places might have been selected with equal advantage. I do not concur in that opinion. Look at the expense alone. It has been stated in your report that

It is possible to transport the whole colored population.

the sum of fifty dollars is sufficient to cover the expense of transporting one emigrant to Liberia, and of maintaining him there for six months after his arrival. To what other position in the known world could he be sent at so cheap a rate? Not to the Pacific; not to Oregon; not to Mexico. Then consider the advantages of this position in point of navigation: remember the shortness of the voyage. When these things are duly considered, it must be evident that to no other spot on the face of the globe could the free colored people be sent with so much propriety as to the coast of Africa. Besides, in any other place that might be selected you would deprive yourselves of accomplishing those high moral and religious objects which, in Africa, may be so confidently hoped for.

But again: it has been said that the object of carrying all the free colored race from this country to Africa is one which the Government itself, with all its means, could not effect. Now, on that point let me state a fact by way of reply. If I am not mistaken, the immigration from abroad into the port of New York alone, in the course of the last year, was fully equal to the annual increase of the free colored population of the Union,* and yet all that was done voluntarily, and in most cases without any, or with very little aid. The fact rests on the great motive which, to a greater or less extent, governs all human action. Why is it that the Germans and the Irish have thus flocked to our shores, in numbers to meet the annual increase of our free colored people not only, but, as I believe, that of the slave population

also? They come in obedience to one of the great laws of our nature; they have come under that efficient motive which propels man to all enterprises—the desire to better their condition. A like motive will sway the free blacks when enlightened as to the real facts of the case. If they reach the shores of Africa, whether by their own means, or by the aid and agency of others, their position will be physically, morally, and politically better than by any possibility it ever can be here. It is not our office to attempt impracticabilities; to amalgamate two races which God himself, by a difference of color, besides other inherent distinctions, has declared must be separate and remain separate from each other. And if such be of necessity, their condition here, to send them to Africa, not by coercion, but with their own free consent, is surely the best practicable mode of doing them good. And here I would say to those in both extremes of opinion and of feeling on the subject of slavery—I would say to all men—why should the free people of color in these United States not have the option of removing to Africa, or remaining where they are, just as they themselves shall choose? That is all we attempt. We wish to describe to him the country, to facilitate his emigration to it, and then leave him to his free choice. And if after this he chooses to go, why interpose any obstacle in his way?—In reply, it is said to be an act of cruelty to send him there. The climate is represented as inhospitable: he will be exposed to inevitable sickness, and will probably soon find a grave on that distant shore. To

*Mr. CLAY, out of extreme caution, has here greatly understated the fact, as proved by the official returns. These show that it exceeded, by four times, the entire annual increase both of the bond and free.

Immigration.....	200,000
Increase of free }	
Do. of slaves }	65,000

Liberia compared with Jamestown and Plymouth.—All great enterprises have had small beginnings.

send a colored man out of the United States to a country like that is held up as an act of the greatest inhumanity. But, happily, our records bear the most grateful testimony to the reverse of all this. Let us for a moment compare the mortality of Liberia with that of the colonies planted on our own shores. Within the first seventeen years from the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, nine thousand colonists arrived, and £150,000 sterling were expended in transporting them from England, yet at the end of that period but about two thousand of them remained alive. All the rest had fallen victims either to the climate, or to the tomahawk of the savage, or had perished from other causes. Then look at Plymouth. History records that in less than six months after the arrival of the Mayflower full half of all who landed had been destroyed by disease, want, and suffering. Now, compare with these efforts at British colonization the results of our settlement at Liberia. In twenty-five years since the first emigrants landed from the United States the deaths amount to but twenty per cent. of the entire number, being far less than died at Plymouth within six months; far less than at Jamestown in seventeen years. The deaths at Jamestown were in seventeen years more than four times as numerous, in proportion, as at Liberia in twenty-five years. There is then nothing in the climate to discourage us, nothing in the alleged dreadful mortality of the colony to frighten us.

But it is said we have done very little. All the great enterprises of man have had small beginnings.—The founders of Rome, if we may believe the tale of tradition, were suckled by a wolf. Jamestown and Plymouth both languished for years after the period to which I have already referred. Yet now, what land is there on the broad surface of the

habitable globe, what sea spreads out its waste of waters, that has not been penetrated and traversed by the enterprise, the skill, and the courage of our New England brethren? And on what battle-field, in what council chamber can a single spot in our vast country be found where the Virginia character has not displayed itself in its gallantry or its deliberative wisdom? I repeat it; all the greatest enterprises of man have had small beginnings. Our colony is but twenty-five years old, and it has received already between four and five thousand colored emigrants, besides hundreds more of recaptured Africans; all of which have been sent there by order of this Government. Immense numbers of the natives are crowding into the colony to obtain the benefits of education, of civilization, and of christianity. In addition to all these there are many thousands more in the United States now seeking the advantages of colonization through the means held out by this Society. As far then as we have gone, GOOD IS DONE.

Is it not better that those four or five thousand emigrants should be there, than that they should have remained here? Is it not better for themselves, is it not better for us? Every year the progress of our colony becomes more and more cheering: and, with every free African sent over to it, those prospects brighten, and so much more of good is done. True, we have not done all we desire to do. Glad should we be should every free colored man throughout all the States go there and become free indeed. But it requires time to accomplish great national affairs. The creation of a nation is not the work of a day or of a century. For two or three centuries the embryo nation of the Israelites remained captives in Egypt. But when this government, or the State governments, shall lend the enter-

The General Government or the States may aid.—Difficulties in the way of colored people remaining in U. S.

prise their powerful aid, its progress will not be so slow. And when the colony shall have made further advances, it will be self-sustained and increased by its own commerce and marine. I speak not, of course, of any unconstitutional aid. Incidental aid, at least, may be given it in strict accordance with the constitution. On this subject the legislature of Maryland has set us a noble example. She cherishes her infant colony with the utmost solicitude and care. When other States of the Union shall do the same, the cause of colonization will experience a vast acceleration. Perhaps it is not desirable that it should move too fast at the outset. In founding a colonial settlement, as in the subduing of our own boundless wilderness, there should be pioneers to precede the great wave of immigration; to prepare sustenance for those who shall follow, to open roads and erect dwellings for their accommodation. There might so many emigrants be thrown at once upon the colony as to occasion material embarrassment, if not fatal injury. It is better that the work should proceed at first somewhat slowly, so that the few who go before should understand the country, its habits and its resources, and thus prepare a place for the many who shall come after them.

✓ But, beside the fact that the colored and the white races never can become one homogeneous people, in what State, I ask, of this entire Union (with possibly the exception of Massachusetts) does the black man, however fair may be his character, and from however long a line of free colored ancestors he may proceed, enjoy an equality with his white neighbor in social and political rights? In none; nowhere. As to social rights, they are out of the question. In no city, town, or hamlet throughout this entire land is he

regarded as on an equal footing with us. The laws of all the States (and, in this respect, some of the free States are even more rigorous than the slave States themselves) render it impossible. And so great is the rigor of the laws in some of the States—rendered more rigorous by the schemes and efforts of the abolitionists—emancipation, under any circumstances, and with whatever purpose, is absolutely prohibited. On this subject a very remarkable case occurred lately in connexion with myself. A very respectable and revered man in Alabama, whose face I never had seen, bequeathed to me by his will, in absolute right, some twenty-five or thirty slaves. No cause was mentioned in the terms of the bequest, and I was greatly surprised by the announcement of a fact so entirely unexpected; but I had some belief that the design of the testator in consigning these slaves to my care was that they should be sent to Liberia. I accordingly took the necessary means to accomplish this design; and since my arrival in this city, I have received intelligence that twenty-three of their number have been embarked at New Orleans for the coast of Africa, and are freely, and with their entire assent, going back to the home of their ancestors. [Applause.] What would have been their condition had they remained? In Alabama they could not have been free. The laws of the State, stimulated, as I have said, by the course of the abolitionists of the north, have prohibited, unconditionally, all emancipation of a slave; and, in fact, I had to take these negroes as my own slaves to New Orleans, and they were so regarded until they were placed beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. Nor is Alabama the only State which, from the same cause, has been induced to make her laws more stringent than

No other means so good as Colonization.

before; many others have enacted laws of the same general character, subjecting emancipation to many restrictions, and even to rigorous penalties.

Here is illustrated the value and the importance of the sole object of the Colonization Society. It furnishes the opportunity, whether to States or individuals, of gratifying their wishes, if they desire the emancipation of their slaves.

On the subject of slavery I shall not touch. The Society never has touched that subject, or disturbed it any way. It has confined itself exclusively to the transportation to Africa of the free, who go willingly and unconstrained.

Gentlemen of the Society: You have placed me in a position which I feel to be both embarrassing and painful. I came here, as I told you, without note, and almost without preparation of any kind. I have thrown out these remarks in a loose, disjointed manner, mainly that I might gratify wishes which seemed to me irresistible. I have gone through most of the topics—indeed, all of them—which I designed to touch. And I would now implore all parties; I would beseech the Abolitionists, and I would entreat those who carry the doctrine of slavery to an extreme; I would supplicate all men to look calmly and dispassionately at the great enterprise we have in view. I ask them, in the name of that God under whose providential smile, as I in my heart believe, this Society has thus far prospered, to look at it, at its objects and at its efforts, with unprejudiced and candid eyes. During, now, a period of twenty-five years; without power, without revenue, without aid save the voluntary contributions of the charitable and the humane, has this Society continued its labors. During that period it has carried on a defen-

sive war. It has made treaties. It has purchased territory, and that to a large extent; owning, now, some three hundred and twenty miles along the western coast of Africa, throughout the whole of which extent (with one dark exception) the slave trade has been suppressed.—And in this connexion I may be permitted to remark, that if the Governments of Europe and of the United States, who have united their efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, would consent to lend but a small portion of the navies they now, at so great a cost, maintain off the African coast in furtherance of that design, to the great object of colonization, they would prove much more successful than they have hitherto found themselves in putting an end to that detested traffic. I believe that no other means will ever prove so operative and effectual to that end as the covering the entire coast of that quarter of the globe with colonies of free colored men. Then would all be united by sympathy for their outraged countrymen, in heartily advancing a design which commends itself to every feeling of the black man's heart.

Then let all men look on our Society as it is, and judge of our design with fairness and impartiality.

I am aware that a single motive, from among the various motives which actuated the founders of the Society, has been seized upon, and urged (in some cases with but too much effect) as an objection to the whole plan. It has been stated that the degradation of the free people of color among us is so great that a very large portion of those who fill our jails and penitentiaries consist of them, and it has been truly inferred that the slaves among us would be greatly benefited by the withdrawal of the free blacks from their vicinity and intercourse. And hence the abolitionists have taken occasion

The Society congratulated on the past achievements.

to affirm that colonization is but a scheme of Southern slave-holders to perpetuate slavery at home and rivet the chains of every bondman in the land. But I ask is that fair? Ought they not, before coming to so injurious a conclusion, to look at all the motives which led to the formation of the Society, and not lay hold on one alone, and tear that away from all the rest, to found on it a charge against the whole design? Should they resolutely shut their eyes against such motives as a desire to benefit the subjects of colonization themselves, by conferring on them the substance instead of the mere name of freedom—to the hope of benefiting Africa by spreading there a knowledge of the arts and civilization, and ultimately diffusing the blessings of Christianity among her benighted millions—to the humane design of suppressing the slave trade? Is it right to overlook all these considerations, and fasten on only one motive which could be perverted into selfishness, and judge the whole purpose of the Society by that? Let them deal more justly by their neighbor. Let them put together all the causes and motives which combined to give origin to our attempt, and judge us from the whole, and not condemn us on one solitary ground, forcibly and uncharitably torn away from the mass of considerations which might lead men to such an enterprise.

And now, in conclusion, I should fail of expressing the feelings which are rising in my bosom, did I not congratulate you, gentlemen of the Society, on the eminent success which has already crowned your benevolent labors. A new republic has sprung into existence under your auspices. Yes; a free, representative, constitutional republic, formed on the model of our own beloved institutions. A republic, founded by black men, reared by black men, put

into operation by the blacks, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects. Whether we look at what has already been done, or lift our eyes to the future and cast them down the long vista of coming time—when we may anticipate, as we are warranted to do, the dissemination over a large part, if not the whole, of Africa, of our own free principles of government, our love of liberty, our knowledge of Christianity, our arts, and civilization, and domestic happiness—when we behold those blessings realized on that continent which I trust in God we are long, long destined to enjoy on this, and think how the hearts of posterity will be gladdened by such a spectacle—how ought our own to exult in hope and to swell with gratitude?

Go on, then, gentlemen; go on in your noble cause. For myself, I shall soon leave you and this stage of human action forever. I may never occupy this chair again; but I trust that the spirit which originated and which has sustained this Society will long survive me, and that you may long continue, now that our African republic is at length born, to discharge the offices of guardianship, and aid and co-operation, and ever give to the interests of African freedom, civilization, and social happiness your best energies and most fervent prayers. From this auspicious hour, even to the end of time, or until the great object of the amicable separation of the two races shall have been fully effected, may others spring up to take your places, and to tread in your steps. And, finally, invoking on this great and good cause the blessings of that God without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, and whose smiles, I believe, have hitherto been extended to it, I bid you a cordial farewell.

The Hon. THOMAS CORWIN had

Resolutions adopted.—Officers of the Society elected.

been expected to speak upon the following resolution, but circumstances rendered it impossible for him to do so.

“*Resolved*, That the bearings of African colonization on American commerce demand for it the favorable consideration of the Government of the United States.”

The resolution was adopted.

The Rev. Mr. BROWN, Professor in Dartmouth College, offered the following:

“*Resolved*, That we have entire confidence in the great principles of the Colonization Society, and that its past history and present condition give satisfactory evidence of its permanent and ultimate triumph.”—Adopted.

The Rev. Dr. BUTLER, of this city, offered the following:

“*Resolved*, That the history of Christian missions in Africa proves that the policy of the Colonization Society is the only effectual means of carrying the Gospel to the inhabitants of that benighted land, and should therefore gather around the institution Christian benevolence, and awaken Christian munificence to support it with untiring zeal and enlarged liberality.” Adopted.

The Hon. HENRY CLAY was unanimously elected President of the Society for this year.

The following gentlemen were elected Vice Presidents, viz:

1. General John H. Cocke, of Virginia.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
3. Charles F. Mercer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New York.
6. Louis McLane, of Baltimore.
7. Moses Allen, of New York.
8. General W. Jones, of Washington.
9. Joseph Gales, of Washington.
10. Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.

11. John McDonogh, of Louisiana.
12. Rev. James O. Andrews, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
13. William Maxwell, of Virginia.
14. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.
15. Walter Lewrie, of New York.
16. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.
17. Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi.
18. William C. Rives, of Virginia.
19. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Washington.
20. Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi.
21. James Boorman, of New York.
22. Henry A. Foster, of New York.
23. Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi.
24. Robert Campbell, of Georgia.
25. Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey.
26. James Garland, of Virginia.
27. Right Hon. Lord Bexley, of London.
28. William Short, of Philadelphia.
29. Willard Hall, of Delaware.
30. Right Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tennessee.
31. Gerard Ralston, of London.
32. Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N. J.
33. Dr. Hodgkin, of London.
34. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Dedham, Massachusetts.
35. Thos. R. Hazard, of Providence, R. I.
36. Dr. Thomas Massie, of Tye River Mills, Virginia.
37. Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, of Washington.
38. Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of N. J.
39. Samuel Wilkeson, of New York.
40. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
41. James Railey, of Mississippi.
42. Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Phila.
43. Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Phila.
44. Elliott Cresson, of Philadelphia.
45. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.
46. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Andover, Massachusetts.
47. Jonathan Hyde, of Maine.
48. Rev. Beverly Waugh, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Baltimore.
49. Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, S. C.
50. Moses Sheppard, Baltimore.
51. John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.
52. Bishop McIlvain, of Ohio.
53. Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.
54. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., of Tenn.
55. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.
56. Hon. C. Marsh, of Woodstock, Vt.
57. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
58. H. L. Lumpkin, Esq., Athens, Geo.
59. James Lenox, of New York.
60. Bishop Soule, D. D., of Tennessee.
61. Prof. S. C. Upham, of Maine.
62. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
63. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.
64. Hon. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.

After which the Society adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1849, at seven o'clock, P. M.

Board of Directors—Members present—Committees appointed.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

WASHINGTON,

January 18, 1848.

THE Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met at the office of the society at 12 o'clock at noon, and was organized by appointing the Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Chairman, and Rev. Joseph Tracy, Clerk.

There were present :

From Massachusetts Colonization Society, Rev. Joseph Tracy—from N. Y. Colonization Society, Dr. D. M. Reese—from N. Y. Society, Life Director, A. G. Phelps, Esq.—from New Jersey Colonization Society, William Rankin, Esq., and Rev. John Maclean, D.D.—from Pennsylvania Colonization Society, Paul T. Jones, Esq., and Archibald McIntyre, Esq.—Life Director, Elliott Cresson, Esq.—from District of Columbia, Life Director, Rev. William McLain.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Society, and of the Board of Directors were read by the Secretary of the Society.

The annual report of the Executive Committee for the past year was read by the Secretary of the Society.

Dr. James Hall, General Agent of the Maryland Colonization Society, being present, was, on motion, invited to sit with the Board as a corresponding member.

Adjourned to meet at this place at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The Board met, according to adjournment, to attend the annual meeting, and adjourned to meet at 10 A. M. to-morrow.

—

January 19.

The Board met, according to adjournment, at 10 A. M.

The annual report of the Executive Committee having been referred to this Board, was, on motion, referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Tracy, Rankin, and McIntyre.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Phelps and Jones, was appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts, and report to this Board.

Rev. J. B. Pinney, Life Director, appeared and took his seat.

The subject of the Society's property in Liberia, and the future relations of this Society to that Republic having been referred to the Board by the Executive Committee, was discussed for some time in free conversation, after which

The Board adjourned, to meet to-morrow at 9 A. M.

—

January 20, 10 A. M.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The Committee on the Treasurer's accounts submitted the following report; which was adopted :

Treasurer's Report, Receipts and Expenditures, approved by the Auditing Committee.

Dr. **Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society,** Cr.
From 1st January, 1847, to 1st January, 1848.

To Cash in hand per last report,	-	By Cash paid for passage of Emigrants,	\$3,123 53
Balances due the Society per last report,	\$12,273 07	Cash paid for goods consigned to the Colonial store,	6,232 56
Less amount of goods sent to Colonial store to purchase territory, and included in last balances,	8,474 67	Cash paid for improvements, purchase of territory, salaries of the Governor, Colonial Secretary and Clerk, support of Emigrants, Schools, Public Buildings, and other expenses in Liberia,	5,757 80
Received from Donations,	-	Cash paid salary of Secretary, rent of office, Clerk hire, stationery and lights,	2,341 92
Received from Colonial store,	-	Cash paid salaries of Agents, and other expenses in collecting funds,	4,758 67
Received from Legacies,	-	Cash paid on account of the African Repository,	661 86
Received from subscriptions to the African Repository	-	Cash paid fees and other expenses in collecting Legacies,	516 09
Received for passage of Emigrants	-	Cash paid Contingent Expenses,	452 17
Profit and Loss	-	Cash charged to Donations in last statement,	385 85
Balances due by the Society this day	-	Balances, due the Society this day,	7,376 51
		Profit and Loss,	225 66
		Cash in hand,	268 46
	\$32,104 11		\$32,104 11

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington, Jan. 1st, 1848.
 The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.
 January 19, 1848.

NOAH FLETCHER, *Book-Keeper.*

ANSON G. PHELPS, }
 PAUL J. JONES, } *Auditors.*

Secretary and Treasurer and Executive Committee elected—Resolutions.

Messrs. Reese and Cresson were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

This committee nominated the following officers, who were elected, viz:

Rev. William McLain, Secretary and Treasurer—Matthew St. Clair Clark, H. Lindsly, Elisha Whittlesey, Joseph Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, and William Gunton, Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Board be tendered to Hon. R. C. WINTHROP for the use of the Speaker's chamber, kindly and courteously proffered by him at our late annual meeting.

Resolved, That the subject of the recaptured slaves be referred back to the Executive Committee, with power to act, and requesting their early action in the case.

The committee to whom the annual report was referred, beg leave to report, recommending

That the report be published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Whereas, the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, at their present meeting, have received the official documents, announcing the formal declaration of the independence of the Republic of Liberia, together with the constitution and bill of rights; and

Whereas we regard this noble effort of the people of Liberia as highly honorable to the intelligence, and strongly indicative of their capacity for self-government; and

Whereas this Board feels called upon to give expression to their sentiments responding to the communications before us; therefore

Resolved, That we tender to the people of Liberia our hearty congratulations on the auspicious result of their recent convention in the establishment of their independent government, and rejoice in this renewed evidence of the ultimate triumph of African colonization.

Resolved, That on behalf of the Society, the Board of Directors sincerely reciprocate the kindly expressions of regard with which we have been honored by the Convention, and assure them of the continued and unabated interest of the American Colonization Society in their future success and prosperity.

Resolved, That these resolutions be officially communicated to the President and authorities of Liberia, after being signed by the proper officers.

The subject of the Society's property in Liberia having been referred to the Board by the Executive Committee; after deliberation, it was

Resolved, That the provisions of the 12th and 16th sections of the 5th article of the constitution of the Republic of Liberia, meet the entire approbation of this Board; and that the Executive Committee be authorized and requested to make the most liberal arrangements with the Government of Liberia, consistent with the interests of future emigrants; subject to the approval of this Board.

Resolved, That the grateful thanks of this Board are eminently due to the Hon. HENRY CLAY, the venerated President of our Society, for the highly interesting and able address, delivered at our recent anniversary,

Aux. Societies urged to increase their efforts and enlarge their contributions to the Treasury—Adjournment.

and that our Secretary communicate this resolution in appropriate terms.

Whereas, In view of the Declaration of Liberian Independence, and the necessity of vigorously sustaining the happy consummation of African Colonization,

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the several auxiliary societies to increase their contributions to the general treasury, to enable it to meet its present engagements and to transport to Liberia the 310 emigrants ready to depart, and others who may apply in the course of the year.

Resolved, That the thanks of the

Board are due to the Rev. Dr. MACLEAN, our presiding officer, for the highly satisfactory manner in which he has performed this service; and to the Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, for his services as Clerk at the present session.

Resolved, That the adjournment of this Board be, to meet at this place, on the third Tuesday in January, 1849, at 12 o'clock at noon.

After the reading and acceptance of the minutes, and prayer by the Rev. J. B. PINNEY, the Board adjourned. Attest,

JOHN MACLEAN, *Ch' man.*

JOSEPH TRACY, *Clerk.*

APPENDIX.

INFORMATION ABOUT GOING TO LIBERIA.

FOR the information of our friends we publish the following *questions* and *answers*. We are constantly receiving letters in which these questions are, in substance, asked. The spirit of inquiry about Liberia, and the means of getting there, is becoming every day more and more prevalent and earnest. We have, therefore, for the accommodation of ourselves, and the convenience of friends, condensed the facts into the following form :

Question 1. At what season of the year is it best to embark for Liberia?

Answer 1. The spring or fall is the time our vessels usually leave Norfolk. There is very little, if any, choice between these two seasons of the year, as a time to leave this country for Liberia. It is rather more convenient to fit out an expedition at these periods, than at any others, and therefore we have selected them, as the best time for the sailing of our vessels. Hereafter it is expected that the LIBERIA PACKET will make two voyages a year, and if business justifies, she will make three.

Q. 2. How long is the voyage, and is there much danger that we shall be lost on the way?

A. 2. The length of the voyage is from thirty to fifty days. The average is about forty days. We hope

the Liberia Packet will make a much less average than this. The emigrants ought to be at the port of embarkation two days before the vessel sails. There is very little danger of being lost.

Q. 3. What ought we to take with us, both for use on the voyage and after we get there?

A. 3. Every emigrant ought to be well supplied with clothing, both for summer and winter, similar to what he wears in this country. There is no winter in Liberia, but during the rainy season, health is greatly promoted by wearing flannel, or warm clothing. He ought also to have a good mattress and bed clothes. If he is a mechanic, he ought to have the tools of his trade. If he is a farmer, he ought to be well supplied with axes, hoes, spades, saws, augers, &c. And as every family is expected to keep house and live for themselves, they ought to have a good supply of table furniture and cooking utensils. It is not possible for them to take *chairs, tables, bedsteads*, and other large articles of furniture with them, as they occupy too much room in the ship. But whatever is convenient and necessary in housekeeping and of small compass, they ought to take. A keg of nails, a bale or

Land given each emigrant—Schools—Aid given by the Society.

two of domestics, and some *money*, would be of use to them, in erecting their houses, and paying for any labor they might need, during the first few months of their residence in Liberia.

Q. 4. How much land is given to each emigrant?

A. 4. By the laws of Liberia, each emigrant on his arrival receives a town lot, or *five* acres of land. If he is the head of a family, the quantity of land is increased according to the number of his family. This allowance may seem small, but it is abundantly sufficient for all his necessities until he is able to buy more for himself, which he can do for \$1 an acre.

Q. 5. Can I educate my children there, and what will it cost?

A. 5. By a law of the commonwealth, all parents are required to send their children to school. In some of the settlements the schools are very good. In others, they are more indifferent. But a parent who wants to educate his children can do it better in Liberia than in any other place.

Q. 6. Will the Colonization Society pay my expenses in getting there?

A. 6. The Colonization Society will give a free passage to all who are unable to pay for themselves, and will aid them in supporting themselves during the first six months after they arrive, by furnishing them with provisions, and medicines and medical attendance when they are sick, and providing them a house to live in. During these six months they can become acclimated, raise a crop for themselves, build them a house on their own land, open and plant a piece of land, and have everything

in readiness to live comfortably thereafter.

Q. 7. How can we make a living in Liberia?

A. 7. In the same way that you would make one any where else; that is, by industry and *economy*.

Those who are competent to teach school, can get from three to four hundred dollars for teaching. Good accountants can get from four to eight hundred dollars as clerks in stores and mercantile houses. Tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, brickmakers, cabinet makers, shipwrights, &c. &c., can always find employment at good wages.—The farmer need fear no want.

This question has been answered by the *Editor* of the *Liberia Herald*, who has lived there many years, and we cannot do better than to give his own words, viz :

“ For information of our friends, who are constantly and incorrectly asserting, in America, that ‘ Liberians have not any thing else to eat but roots and wild animals,’ we have thought proper to give a list of such animals, fruits, and edibles as are in general use with us in their appropriate seasons:

Domesticated.—Cows, bullocks, swine, sheep, goats, ducks, fowls, pigeons, turkeys, (few.)

Wild.—Deer of different kinds in abundance: red, black, brown, and grayish; partridge, pigeons, goats, cows, doves, hedgehogs, red squirrels, summer ducks, rice birds, ground doves, &c.

Fruit.—Water melon, musk melon, mango plums, orange, rose apples, sour sop, guava, tamarind, plantain, bananas, gram-madilla, limes, lemons.

Fish, scaled and shell.—Mullet, whiting, perch, bream, pike, baracouta, mackerel, cursalli, herring, drum, catfish, grippers, oysters, crabs, carp, sun.

Edibles.—Sweet potatoes, arrow root, turnips, carrots, shilote, cymbalain, chiota, paupau, Lima beans, ochra, peas, radishes, beets, cabbages, snaps, cucumbers, greens, salads, cassavas, yams, corn.

Besides the above, there are many others, which we have neither time or room to arrange here.”

A. F. RUSSELL, Esq., of Golah, Liberia, another citizen who has been there for years, writes on the some subject in the *Liberia Herald*, thus, viz: (He is speaking of what should be said to persons in the U. S., who think of going to Liberia.)

"If they be farmers, point them to the soil, the fertility of which cannot be exaggerated, producing every thing a tropical climate can produce in ample abundance, yet 'by the sweat of the brow.' The arm answering, though not necessarily in all cases, the place of the ox; [oxen can be bought at any time, thank God, for the money, and broke and worked too by those who choose it, and it has been done;] the hoe answering for the plough, if we rather, and in our light soil, does almost as well, perhaps. Labor and patience, two-thirds of the labor, too, that it would take to support a man in the United States, will reward the workmen, thirty, sixty, a hundred fold—the profits will sweeten the toil.

A coffee tree once planted and reared (which takes four years) will yield its increase two crops a year, year after year bringing its reward with it—a hundred, a thousand, and tens of thousands, will do the very same, and certainly the scions, or the seed, are to be bought in sufficient quantities in Liberia. Arrow-root, ginger, pinders, and pepper, grow with almost half trouble, yielding in full abundance if planted. Indigo, &c., grow luxuriantly beyond all possible expectation; and as for fruits, the orange, lime, lemon, soursop, guava, mango, &c., &c., we place Liberia against any country in the world, and with what a fraction of labor, compared with the benefits they yield. Vegetables—the yam, potatoes, cassada, plantains, Indian corn, beans, peas, &c., &c., useless to mention, time would fail us to tell. Put them in the earth, and they are as sure to produce as the God of nature is to bring about the seasons. Still the idle will not have them. The lazy man has no part in this lot of good things. Such truths would do us good. The word *labor* frightens the lazy man, and he will not curse us with his presence and example. The industrious love that word, or the thing it means, will come determined to do, and coming will conquer and be rewarded."

The Rev. J. B. PINNEY, so long and so well known as Governor of Liberia, and since as an agent in this

country, answers the question thus, viz:

"No man, by farming, can get a living without labor in any country but in Liberia, there being no snow, or frost, or cold to provide against, a large portion of the labor needed here for keeping warm and comfortable, is not needed there, and as it is always summer, much less land will support a family.

Another consideration may here be added, viz: that many important plants and vegetables continue to grow and bear from year to year, with very little cultivation. Our garden Lima bean, *I have seen* covering by its vines a good sized tree, where it had been growing and constantly bearing for *nine years*! Sweet potato vines are often, when pulled, replanted, and go on to bear more roots. The African potato, or cassada, grows for two years; the cotton plant bears for nine or ten years."

Q. 8. Can I be as healthy in Liberia as I am in the United States?

A. 8. Probably not. Some constitutions may be more healthy there than here. For old settlers, Liberia is doubtless more healthy than many parts of the United States. The deaths there, among such, for several years past, have not been more than three per cent.

We would here make this general remark, in connection with the last two questions. The great advantages, which the colored man gets by going to Liberia, are *not* as to his *eating, or drinking, or making money*, but in his *social, political, and moral* condition. He becomes a *man*. He is no longer despised as of another race, but is treated as an equal and a brother, and secures immense privileges for his children.—If colored men cannot understand and appreciate these and such like advantages, it is not worth their while to go to Liberia! Those who can and do appreciate them, and go to Liberia, will never regret it. Of

The grand motive for going to Liberia.

such emigrants Mr. Russell, whose language we have before quoted, makes the following remarks:

"They not only see that all their labor is their own, every improvement belongs to themselves and children, good sound sense and industry tells them to go forward, and they obey, looking upon Liberia as theirs, and the home of their children; its strength their safety; its wealth their property, and its prosperity their glory, and the salvation from degradation of their children. Such men as these, though they cannot read a word, and, perhaps, never thought of writing, and, perhaps, spent much of their time in slavery, are an honor to any country, that would allow them equality. There are some of this stamp in Liberia, men 'worth their weight in gold.' They are industrious men, who look forward, who love their children.—Such men are not only good citizens, but patriotic colonists. One thousand of them would make the soil, and the ship, declare Liberia independent *without a human declaration*. As the hope of Liberia's glory, present as well as future glory, rising before such men, it beckons them onward.—They enjoy 'freedom' in every true sense of that word. They love our laws, because they are wholesome, they are ours made by legislators of our choice. They love liberty for what it is in and of itself.

Free from that oppression worse, if possible, than that of Israel in Egypt, under which he once groaned, the industrious public spirited man seizes and holds fast the hope of elevating not only his own, but the name and character of his country.—With life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, with and before him, with a right view of these things, what can hinder this colony from prospering? Or such men from being freemen? It is a startling truth, unless it has become 'a new thing under the sun,' that there is not a free black man from Georgia to Maine. No, nor in the whole United States! Nor will there be very soon, if we must judge from 'the signs of the times.'"

In conclusion, we have one particular request to make, viz: *That all persons intending to emigrate to Liberia, will give us early notice of the time when they will be ready.* It always requires considerable time to arrange necessary preliminaries, and make indispensable preparations: so that it not unfrequently

happens that persons almost ready when the vessel sails, are compelled to wait for six months or a year, for the want of a few more days in which to get ready.

We trust that this suggestion will be duly regarded. There are many persons who are making inquiries in regard to the advantages of going to Liberia, who would be much benefitted by the suggestions which many of our friends might give them, or which they could obtain by opening a correspondence, with us, on the subject. There are no letters that we receive and answer with more pleasure than those which make inquiries about emigration to Liberia. We trust, therefore, that there will be some special efforts made to place the colored people in possession of the facts relating to their prospects in Liberia. We are expecting soon to send out a large number of the more intelligent and educated class. The present independent position of Liberia, renders this very desirable. They have assumed the entire responsibility of their own government, and will demand all the talent, wisdom and energy they can summon to their aid. We should think that the very most intelligent and wealthy colored people in this country would have some ambition to share in the splendid results, soon to be achieved through the agency of the colonists, for Liberia! Surely, to aid in laying the foundation for a great nation, in maturing institutions and laws for the government of a great people, and in redeeming an

The importance to every emigrant of being correctly informed in regard to their prospects.

immense continent from the worst of Pagan darkness and barbarity, is a work infinitely more sublime and glorious than can possibly be performed by any of the colored people in *this country*, however favored may be their position, enlarged their opportunities, and determined their energy and perseverance! When the historian comes to write up the labors of their race, who will stand far above all comparison, if not the bold and successful pioneers in the only successful effort ever made for their social, civil, and religious redemption?

Leaving out of view every thing touching their own personal interests, there are considerations connected with their race and the destiny before them, which should induce the most highly-favored of them in this country to seek a field of usefulness in Africa. But when we take into consideration that in Liberia is the only place on the face of the earth

where they and their children can enjoy the luxury of true freedom, and infinitely advance their social, moral, and intellectual interests, is it not marvelous that they still prefer their present inferior and unenviable position among the whites, and still cherish the gross delusions of which they have been made the victims, willing to believe the most fabulous stories about Liberia, and shutting their eyes tightly against all the light which shines upon them, and shows it to be a dictate of wisdom, as well as a demand of duty, for them to go to their fatherland, and be MEN!

We are happy to know, and to have it in our power to inform our friends, that there are some persons intending to go to Liberia, who rightly appreciate the circumstances of their situation, and who are prepared to make themselves useful and rise to a desirable fame, should their lives be spared.

THINGS WHICH EVERY EMIGRANT TO LIBERIA OUGHT TO KNOW.

It is of vast importance, that whoever contemplates going to Liberia, should be fully and correctly informed in regard to their prospects.

1. *They should understand that they are going to a new country.*—They will not there see houses built in the same style that they are here, and filled with all the comforts and conveniences that time and wealth have so lavishly provided here. It is little more than twenty years since

the first colonists landed on that coast. They have, during all this time, had to struggle through almost unparalleled obstacles. Of course, we must not expect to find them as far advanced in the refinements of civilization as we are. It is yet a new country, and those who go there must carry with them the courage and the energy to bear the dangers and surmount the obstacles naturally belonging to such a state of things.

Emigrants must expect to begin life for themselves.—They must not depend upon the Colonization Society.

2. *They must expect to begin life for themselves.* They will not have any friends there who will think and act and contrive and plan for them. They must rely on themselves.—They receive a tract of land, in its wild and uncultivated state, and if it is ever cleared and planted, they must do it. They must build a house for themselves, and begin to keep house. And if they have but few of the necessities, and none of the conveniences and luxuries of house-keeping, still they must not be discouraged, but “struggle on and struggle ever.” Brighter days will come. Every brilliant noon must be preceded by its morning. They must not despise the day of small things, but cheered and sustained by the example of many around them, who commenced life just as they are doing, and are now comfortable and happy, they must press their way onward, and they will find that industry and perseverance will secure to them plenty and happiness.

3. *They must not depend upon the Colonization Society.* The business of the Society is to help them to get to that country, where they can thenceforward help themselves. Many persons have supposed that the Society would do every thing for them; pay their passage, furnish them every thing to eat and drink after they get to Liberia, and let them live in ease. But the truth is far otherwise. And hence, when they reach Liberia, and begin to find provisions running low, and are made to under-

stand that the time has arrived when they must support themselves, they become offended, abuse the colony and the Society, and pretty nearly every body and every thing else, and then perhaps they write home to their friends, and advise them not to come to so horrible a place.—“These things ought not so to be.”

4. *They must expect to work for their living.* How else can they hope to live! Liberia is no unearthly paradise. If men there have not money enough to live on, they must make a living some other way. By the labor of their heads or the labor of their hands, they must get bread for themselves. And it would be well for them to understand that there is no business more honorable or more important to the welfare of the colony, and profitable to the individual, than the cultivation of the soil. It always yields a liberal reward to the industry of the husbandman.

5. *They ought to be impressed with a sense of the responsibility which will devolve upon them, as members of a free and independent government.* Every citizen of Liberia must consider himself as one of the builders of a great and cultivated nation, a Christian commonwealth, on the shores of a barbarous continent. The very circumstances in which they are placed, stimulates them to action, and furnishes exciting motives for elevated sentiments and noble conduct.

Persons, therefore, who contemplate going to Liberia, ought to un-

On their arrival in Liberia they are invested with all the rights of citizens.

derstand beforehand the nature of the duties they will be called to perform. On their arrival there, they will be invested with all the rights of citizens; they must vote at elections, and consider and decide upon the measures most necessary to secure the welfare of the citizens and the stability of the government. The highest offices in the commonwealth are within their reach. They may aspire to them, and, if sufficiently intelligent and virtuous, they may ultimately reach them.

What a reward is thus held out to inspire a pure ambition, and incite a determined effort? Liberia is destined to enlarge itself for ages, and gather within its expanding influence multitudes of the present and millions of the future generations! Interest and duty, hope and fear, patriotism and religion, self-respect and stern necessity, all combine and urge them to act with manly courage and unbending fidelity.

6. *They ought to be sensible that, not only for themselves, but for the benefit of their race, must they labor.* The colony is, in one respect, a great missionary station, a great centre of light and influence, and it is destined to make all the surrounding tribes and country just what it is, and continues to be. The natives have never before beheld such a spectacle as is presented to their view in the citizens, the houses, the schools, the churches, and the government of Liberia.—Hence they look on with intense anxiety. The superiority of every

thing colonial impresses them. They feel a desire to copy the example set before them. The natives and the colonists are all mixed together, and thus the style and manners of every family is seen, and an influence for good or for ill, goes forth from every individual. How important, therefore, that colonists, before leaving this country, should be made to feel the immense importance of a correct course of conduct, governed and controlled by thorough religious principle! They ought to be made to feel that it is their highest privilege, as well as their imperative duty, to cast in their lot with the pioneers in the work of Africa's civil, social, and religious redemption, and sacrifice themselves, if need be, in the stupendous work of spreading free government and civil institutions over all Africa, and bringing her uncounted population all under the dominion of the kingdom of Heaven!

7. *They should be instructed to regard the advice of the governor and physician, in relation to preserving their health.* Foolish and unnecessary exposure to the dew and the night air, and the indulgence of their appetites, have caused the death of many emigrants before they had become accustomed to the climate, whose lives might have been saved by simply attending to the advice of the physician.

8. *They should be made to feel the importance of sending their children to school, as soon as they arrive in Liberia, and until they are*

The importance of educating their children.

well educated. This is important to their own welfare and happiness. It is important to their respectability and influence among the older colonists. It is important for the perfection and perpetuity of the institutions of the country.

Brought up as they themselves have been in this country, they are too apt to be indifferent to the education of their children. It requires every motive and influence which necessity can urge, or ingenuity can originate, to arouse them to a proper sense of their responsibilities. But it ought to be done; and, in most instances, it can be done most effectually by their friends in this country, in whom they repose confidence.

9. *They ought to be convinced that the friends of colonization are their friends: that it is a scheme contrived and executed solely with reference to the good of their race.* We have always professed to be the friends of the colored man. We have always advocated colonization as his friend, and have honestly believed that it presented the fairest hope and the surest guarantee of his future happiness. We are satisfied that in this country he never can enjoy a permanent home; can never rise above his present depressed condition. He may stay here for years and years yet to come. But the day must come, sooner or later, when he must depart. The state of things is now in process of formation, which will compel him to seek the necessa-

ries of life in some other climate, and out of some other soil.

“Whenever the avenues of employment become crowded—whenever the price of labor is brought low by competition—whenever it is a favor to be employed, instead of being, as it now is, a favor to work, then the colored man will know that the time, which we say *must* come, is at hand. *In the strife for bread, the colored man will go to the wall.* It is a solemn sense of duty which makes us say these things. The subject is too grave a one—it concerns the happiness of too many—to be dealt with lightly; and we should be doing wrong, were what we now urge to have no other basis than our mere opinion. But we might almost say, that we expressed no opinion: that we merely called attention to the handwriting of daily events, which all might read who did not close their eyes in obstinacy. The colored men in New York do not drive hacks or drays. Why is this? New York is in a free State. The reason is a plain one. New York is the largest city in our country, attracting to it, by its very size, a still increasing population. Labor is more abundant there than in smaller cities, or in the rural districts. For the employments of the poor there are more competitors. The white man, with political power on his side, has elbowed out the black man. The answer to the question, then, is to be found in the principle which we have stated. We might multiply instances of a like character, but it is unnecessary.

Hereafter, when what now takes place in New York, shall be universal throughout the land,—when the colored man, in place, whether as hackman, or waiter, or ploughman, shall be envied by the white man out of place, who shall strive to supplant him, that a white family may be supported, rather than a colored one, by the wages which the head of the latter receives,—when this state of things comes to pass, colonization will be hailed by the colored people as their best friend, for it will have provided for them, beyond the reach of all the influences to which we have alluded, asylums to which the oppressed may flee from the wrath that is to come.

“We ask our colored friends to ponder these things well. We ask them to believe that it is a friend who speaks to them, who has no interest to mislead them, and who, in speaking as is here spoken, discharges what is conceived to be a duty, which it would be criminal to neglect.”

And we ask our friends into whose

Information—how to be obtained.

hands these pages may fall, to take every opportunity to make these facts and truths known to the colored people. Especially do we desire the masters and others having persons in their charge, who are to be sent to Liberia, to be particular in giving fully and repeatedly the information here presented. It will save us much trouble and expense. It will save the emigrants many regrets and much disappointment, and it will be of lasting benefit to the commonwealth of Liberia.

Information of the time and place of the sailing of the next expedition for Liberia, can at any time be obtained by addressing a letter to the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, Colonization Rooms, Washington City. Where also can be had copies of this pamphlet, and other documents for gratuitous circulation.

COMMON OBJECTIONS TO GOING TO LIBERIA ANSWERED.

WE not unfrequently meet with objections to going to Liberia, made honestly by some persons, who have the offer of their freedom, if they will go, and others who are free, and might make good citizens of Liberia. We therefore propose to give their objections a candid hearing, and see if they cannot be removed, viz :

Objection 1. I do not want to go where there are no white people. I do not believe in the control of negroes. I have seen too much of them. They will never do for me.

Answer 1. This objection argues a very bad state of mind in him who makes it. It shows that he has not a decent self-respect, or that he has very inadequate ideas of the capabilities of his race. If his ideas of negro government have been formed from the conduct of some colored overseer on a plantation, then he ought to know that a government of law and order, regularly established and administered by colored men, for their own mutual benefit, is

another and a very different thing. And if he has the principles and character of a man, he may stand a fair chance of rising to the head of the government, and then surely he need not complain of undue rigor.

O. 2. I do not want to go there to die. Every body dies there. It is too sickly for me. If I do not die naturally, the wild beasts will eat me up. I cannot live among snakes and alligators.

A. 2. For acclimated emigrants, Liberia is as healthy as any other country. Their bills of mortality show this. The census published and circulated so widely in all parts of this country proves it.

And farther than this, there is very little danger of dying in the process of acclimation, if the patient takes proper care of himself. Of the emigrants sent out during the last five years, not *one* in *twenty* has died from the effects of acclimating fever.

We have never heard of a single colonist having been eaten up by the wild beasts, and think, therefore,

The Natives bound by treaties to abandon forever all participation in the slave trade.

that there must be some mistake as to the danger from that source.

O. 3. I have heard that the colonists are engaged in the *slave trade*, and I never could stand that.

A. 3. We can hardly speak gravely in answer to this objection. We lately heard of a gentleman of some distinction, who had been on board of one of our men-of-war on the African coast, and therefore claimed to be well informed as to the actual state of things at Liberia, and who said that it was generally believed that the colonists were engaged in the slave trade; and he mentioned the name of one person, of whose participation in that horrible traffic there was no doubt. But it so happened that we knew the said person, and that he had not been in Liberia for several years, and that he is now residing in the city of Philadelphia.

By the laws of Liberia, it is a capital offence to be engaged in the slave trade. And not only are the colonists entirely free from blame, and above suspicion in this matter, but they have also exerted a redeeming influence upon the native tribes in their vicinity. One of the first articles in all the treaties made with the natives, binds them to abandon forever all participation in the slave trade. It is a fact, which is notorious, that the establishment of Liberia has driven the slave trade entirely away from more than three hundred miles along the sea coast, with the exception of one single factory.

It is, therefore, entirely too late in the day to charge this crime on the colonists.

O. 4. They have to eat *roots* there. They cannot get any bacon and cabbage there, nor any thing like what we live on here.

A. 4. Is there anything in the climate or soil of Liberia that should make *roots* more unwholesome or unpalatable as an article of food there than they are in this country? It is a fact that they eat *roots* there, and so they do here, and in the form of sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, turnips, &c. They are here generally much admired, and we see no good reason why the same thing should not be true of them in Liberia.

There is no danger of starvation in Liberia. There is no difficulty in getting plenty to eat, of good wholesome food. It is true that some articles of diet eaten here cannot be gotten there without much inconvenience. But it is also true that there are many vegetables and fruits there, which are not found here; and that nature has furnished an abundant supply of the kind of food best calculated to promote the health and comfort of people living on that soil, and in that climate.

O. 5. If I go there and do not like it, they will not let me come away again.

A. 5. It is not true that the Society does not allow any body to return, when once they have gone to Liberia. Every colonist there is as free to stay, or leave and go where he pleases, as any individual in this, or any other country, can possibly be. We have no control over them. They are responsible to themselves. They may go away any day they choose.

O. 6. I have no money to begin with, if I go there, and I know I could not get along that way.

The soil produces abundantly.—Difficulty of convincing colored people.

A. 6. It is true, that it would be very desirable for every colonist to have a little money to begin life with in that new world. But it is not indispensable. A majority of the present colonists commenced there without a cent. Many of them have risen to considerable wealth, and all who have practiced any industry or economy, now enjoy an abundance. A good character and a willingness to

work, are of more value than a fortune without them. There is, perhaps, no place in the world where a family can be supported with less labor than in Liberia. The earth produces abundantly, and almost perpetually, and with very little labor in the cultivation. There is, therefore, no difficulty in living well, even without any money to begin with.

CERTAIN CAVILINGS AGAINST COLONIZATION REPLIED TO.

WITH an earnest desire to do all in our power to place Colonization in its true light before the colored people, we answer below some of the most common *cavilings* against it. We fully appreciate the difficulty of making them rightly understand all the bearings and blessings of Colonization, and of convincing them that it presents to them the very highest good that they will ever enjoy in this world. In our mind there is not a doubt of this. We are as fully persuaded that Colonization opens to the colored people of this country the only bright prospect that lies before them in all the broad future, as we are of our own existence. But our conviction of the fact, and the ability to convince them, are two vastly different things. Could they be brought to look at the whole subject as we do, they would, without doubt, think as we do.

Question 1. Why do the whites wish to get clear of us, and send us away to that land?

Answer 1. It is not true that the friends of colonization are actuated by no higher motive than "to get clear of the colored people." They do not propose to *send* them to Liberia contrary to their own wishes. Their will is always consulted in the matter. We have no power to *send* them. They can stay here as long as they wish. But our opinion is that their stay in this country will ever be attended with such depressing influences as to render it any thing but desirable. While, on the contrary, their departure to Liberia will bring them into an entirely new set of circumstances, where a vast field of advancement will be opened to them, and the most powerful motives be brought to bear upon them to lift them up in the scale of being. In this country we see no prospect of their ever rising above their present level. There no power can prevent them from rising.

Another consideration on this

They cannot hope for a permanent home in this country.

point. If we wish to *get clear* of them, and this only, we certainly are laboring with but very little prospect of obtaining our *wish*. The number transported to Liberia bears so little comparison to their natural increase, that to continue the progress with no other motive than merely to *get clear* of them, would be the blindest business in the wide world. This, therefore, cannot be the reason why we give and labor to support colonization, and urge its claims and benefits upon them, from time to time, with all the ardor of our minds.

Q. 2. If we must live by ourselves, why do you not give us some place in the United States, where there is room enough?

A. 2. Will they please to designate what particular place in the United States they would like to have assigned to them? Where is there a spot not wanted by the white man? How rapidly is our population spreading over the whole country? What has been the fate of the poor Indian? Where is his resting place? Where his home, not ever to be disturbed by the march of civilization? Could the colored people hope for a better destiny than has been his?

Will they go west of the Rocky Mountains? Ask them. And if they were there and comfortably fixed, what assurance have they, that their descendants will be allowed quietly to remain there?

Why do they not go to *Canada*? Many of their brethren have gone there. Great sympathy has been expressed for them by the present inhabitants of Canada, and the peo-

ple of England. Why do they not avail themselves of this sympathy and go there in large masses? They know the reason. We need not mention it.

Will they go to a *free State*?—Some of them have tried this, and have rued the day they ever set foot on free soil. The reception the “Randolph negroes” (as they are now called in Ohio) met with, is warning to them on this subject.

No! there is no place for them in this country. It is not their land, and they never can be made at home here. There are difficulties in the way which no power of man can remove.

They feel this and sometimes acknowledge it, when they would not. Some time last year a convention was held by them in the northern part of Ohio, at which it was proposed to adopt a plan of colonization to some distant part of this country, but it met with more bitter opposition and fierce denunciation, than did ever the hated scheme of African colonization, and the majority carried the day, and resolved that they would contend to the death for their rights on the soil where they were born!

Q. 3. Why do not some of the citizens of Liberia come back and let us see them personally, and learn from their own lips all about their condition there?

A. 3. Why do not the citizens of Liberia come back and tell their own story? Who would believe them, if they were to? Many of them have come—have gone to their friends

The Government of Liberia considered as firmly established.

and their kindred, and have, in the simplicity of their hearts, told how they lived and what their prospects were; and then have been told that they were *paid by the Colonization Society to tell this story*, and their own kindred refused to believe them! And when they have gone among strangers and presented a true picture of Liberia, they have been charged with trying to persuade men to go there, simply because it would benefit those already there! In this kind of treatment, but little encouragement is found for them to repeat their visit to this country. Beside this, it costs both time and money to come to this country and go every where to tell of the condition of Liberia. Who among the colored people here would be willing to make such a sacrifice for their race?

If they want to understand the true condition and prospects of Liberia, why do they not send out an agent to see for them, and return and report the facts? This would certainly be a more feasible plan for arriving at some correct understanding of the case.

Q. 4. What evidence is there that, if we go to Liberia, and do well for a time, we shall not some day be oppressed by other nations, and subjected to all the cruelties

which our ancestors have suffered in being torn from their native land?

A. 4. There does not seem to us any danger of the citizens of Liberia ever being subjected to the disastrous end alluded to here. Liberia, though very young yet, is fast rising in the dignity and grandeur of full grown manhood. Its growth and government have excited some feeling in some parts of the world. But there is nothing of danger to be apprehended. And as to the *slave trade* ever getting its victims from among the citizens of Liberia, it cannot be thought of for a moment.

We consider the government of Liberia firmly established. It possesses sufficient stability and intelligence to warrant its permanent future existence.

The safeguard against any disastrous result is to be found in the virtue and education of those who support it. It will be just what they choose to make it. If, therefore, any of the colored people in this country are solicitous on this point, they ought, without delay, to cast in their mite to strengthen the hands of their fellow men, and thus do all in their power for the salvation of their race.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

IN CONVENTION.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

WE the representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the aid and protection of the Great Arbitrator

of human events, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, publish and declare the said Commonwealth a FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE, by the name and title of the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of

Declaration of Independence.

this Republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity, and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts:

We recognise in all men certain natural and inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the right to acquire, possess, enjoy and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy and secure these rights; and every people has a right to institute a government and to choose and adopt that system or form of it, which, in their opinion, will most effectually accomplish these objects, and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The right, therefore, to institute government, and to all the powers necessary to conduct it, is an inalienable right and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

We the people of the Republic of Liberia were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America.

In some parts of that country, we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men—in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down.

We were every where shut out from all civil office.

We were excluded from all participation in the government.

We were taxed without our consent.

We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection.

We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

We uttered our complaints, but they were unattended to, or only met by alleging the peculiar institutions of the country.

All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosoms, and we looked with anxiety abroad for some asylum from the deep degradation.

The Western coast of Africa was the place selected by American benevolence and philanthropy, for our future home.—Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped we would be enabled to enjoy those rights and privileges, and exercise and im-

prove those faculties which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, we established ourselves here, on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil.

In an original compact with this Society, we, for important reasons, delegated to it certain political powers; while this institution stipulated that whenever the people should become capable of conducting the government, or whenever the people should desire it, this institution would resign the delegated power, peaceably withdraw its supervision, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

From time to time, our number has been increased by emigration from America, and by accession from native tribes; and from time to time, as circumstances required it, we have extended our borders by acquisition of land by honorable purchase from the natives of the country.

As our territory has extended, and our population increased, our commerce has also increased. The flags of most of the civilized nations of the earth float in our harbors, and their merchants are opening an honorable and profitable trade. Until recently, these visits have been of a uniformly harmonious character, but as they have become more frequent, and to more numerous points of our extending coast, questions have arisen, which it is supposed can be adjusted only by agreement between sovereign powers.

For years past, the American Colonization Society has virtually withdrawn from all direct and active part in the administration of the government, except in the appointment of the Governor, who is also a colonist, for the apparent purpose of testing the ability of the people to conduct the affairs of government, and no complaint of crude legislation, nor of mismanagement, nor of mal-administration has yet been heard.

In view of these facts, this institution, the American Colonization Society, with that good faith which has uniformly marked all its dealings with us, did, by a set of resolutions in January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, dissolve all political connection with the people of this Republic, return the power with which it was delegated, and left the people to the government of themselves.

The people of the Republic of Liberia, then, are of right, and in fact, a free, sove-

Appeal to the nations of the world.—Declaration of Rights.

reign and independent State, possessed of all the rights, powers and functions of government.

In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the position they have taken, the people of this Republic feel justified by the necessities of the case, and with this conviction they throw themselves with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation.

No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high considerations of those who aided us in providing this asylum.

Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties, which impart to man his dignity—to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition, to cherish and indulge those aspirations which a beneficent Creator had implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

We were animated with the hope, that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go—to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue and religion.

Among the strongest motives to leave our native land—to abandon forever the scenes of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connections, was the desire for a retreat where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could, in composure and security, approach in worship the God of our fathers.

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

Liberia is already the happy home of thousands, who were once the doomed victims of oppression, and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth; if her movements be left free from the paralysing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and yet a wider door for thousands, who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress

of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

Our numerous and well attended schools attest our efforts and our desire for the improvement of our children.

Our churches for the worship of our Creator, every where to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and to our acknowledgment of His Providence.

The native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declare that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth, while upon that curse of curses, the slave trade, a deadly blight has fallen as far as our influence extends.

Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion—in the name of the Great God, our common Creator, and our common judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly considerations to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Declaration of Rights.

The end of the institution, maintenance and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquility, their natural rights, and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity and happiness.

Therefore we, the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia in Africa, acknowledging with devout gratitude the goodness of God, in granting to us the blessings of the Christian religion, and political, religious and civil liberty, do, in order to secure these blessings for ourselves and our posterity, and to establish justice, ensure domestic peace, and promote the general welfare, hereby solemnly associate, and constitute ourselves a free, sovereign and independent state, by the name of the Republic of Liberia, and do ordain and establish this Constitution, for the government of the same.

SECTION 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural inherent and inalienable rights—among which are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and of

pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

SEC. 2. All power is inherent in the people; all free governments are instituted by their authority and for their benefit, and they have a right to alter and reform the same when their safety and happiness require it.

SEC. 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without obstruction or molestation from others, all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and not obstructing others in their religious worship, are entitled to the protection of law in the free exercise of their own religion, and no sect of Christians shall have exclusive privileges or preference over any other sect, but all shall be alike tolerated; and no religious test whatever shall be required as a qualification for civil office, or the exercise of any civil right.

SEC. 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.

SEC. 5. The people have a right at all times, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the government or any public functionaries for the redress of grievances.

SEC. 6. Every person injured shall have remedy therefor by due course of law; justice shall be done without denial or delay; and all cases not arising under martial law, or upon impeachment, the parties shall have a right to a trial by jury, and to be heard in person or by counsel, or both.

SEC. 7. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime, except in cases of impeachment. Cases arising in the Army and Navy, and petty offences, unless upon presentment by a grand jury; and every person criminally charged shall have a right to be seasonably furnished with a copy of the charge, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have a speedy, public and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself, and no person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

SEC. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

SEC. 9. No place shall be searched nor person seized, on a criminal charge or suspicion, unless upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause, supported by oath, or

solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

SEC. 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted; nor shall the legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts; nor any law rendering any act punishable, in any manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed.

SEC. 11. All elections shall be by ballot, and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.

SEC. 12. The people have a right to keep and to bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature, and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

SEC. 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

SEC. 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial, and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others.—This section is not to be construed to include Justices of the Peace.

SEC. 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State: it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Republic.

The press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SEC. 16. No subsidy, charge, impost or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.

SEC. 17. Suits may be brought against the Republic in such manner and in such cases as the legislature may by law direct.

Senators and Representatives—qualifications.

SEC. 18. No person can, in any case, be subjected to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains, by virtue of that law, (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service) but by the authority of the legislature.

SEC. 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right at such periods, and in such manner, as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and fill up vacant places, by certain and regular elections and appointments.

SEC. 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, when the proof is evident, or presumption great; and the privilege and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus shall be enjoyed in this Republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

ARTICLE II.

Legislative Powers.

SECTION 1. The Legislative power shall be vested in a Legislature of Liberia, and consist of two separate branches—a House of Representatives and a Senate, to be styled the Legislature of Liberia: each of which shall have a negative on the other, and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, "It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled."

SEC. 2. The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia, as follows: The county of Montserado shall have four representatives, the county of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the county of Sinoe shall have one, and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted in the Republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years.—The representatives shall be elected biennially, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.

SEC. 3. When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.

SEC. 4. The House of Representatives shall elect their own speaker and other officers, they shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 5. The Senate shall consist of two members from Montserado county, two from Bassa county, two from Sinoe county, and two from each county which may be hereafter incorporated into this Republic. No person shall be a senator who shall not have resided three whole years immediately previous to his election in the Republic of Liberia, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county which he represents, and who does not own real estate of not less value than two hundred dollars in the county which he represents, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years. The senator for each county who shall have the highest number of votes shall retain his seat for four years, and the one who shall have the next highest number of votes two years, and all who are afterwards elected to fill their seats shall remain in office four years.

SEC. 6. The Senate shall try all impeachments; the senators being first sworn, or solemnly affirmed, to try the same impartially, and according to law, and no person shall be convicted but by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present.—Judgment in such cases shall not extend beyond removal from office, and disqualification to hold an office in the Republic, but the party may still be tried at law for the same offence.

When either the President or Vice President is to be tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the Legislature as soon as conveniently may be after the adoption of this constitution, and once at least in every ten years afterwards, to cause a true census to be taken of each town and county of the Republic of Liberia, and a representative shall be allowed every town having a population of ten thousand inhabitants, and for every additional ten thousand in the counties after the first census one representative shall be added to that county until the number of representatives shall amount to thirty—afterwards one representative shall be added for every thirty thousand.

SEC. 8. Each branch of the legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance

President, Vice President, and Secretaries.

of absent members. Each house may adopt its own rules of proceeding, enforce order, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.

SEC. 9. Neither house shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both houses shall sit in the same town.

SEC. 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the Legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval. If he approves, he shall sign it, if not, he shall return it to the Legislature with his objections—if the Legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two-thirds in each branch, it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such bill or resolution to the Legislature with his objection for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him—the Legislature remaining in session during that time—such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature.

SEC. 11. The Senators and Representatives shall receive from the Republic a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from the session of the Legislature.

ARTICLE III. *Executive Power.*

SECTION 1. The Supreme Executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He shall, in the recess of the Legislature, have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defence of the republic. He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission all ambassadors, and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of State, of War, of the Navy, and of the Treasury; attorney general, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, registers, notaries public, and all other officers of State, civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the constitution, or by standing laws. And in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancy in those offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed—he shall inform the Legislature,

from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences, except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer, touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Legislature, and may adjourn the two houses, whenever they cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

SEC. 2. There shall be a Vice President, who shall be elected in the same manner, and for the same term, as that of the President, and whose qualifications shall be the same; he shall be President of the Senate and give the casting vote when the House is equally divided on any subject. And in case of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office; the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Legislature may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of State shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the legislative body, and all other public records and documents, not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same, when required, before the President or Legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons who may by law be charged with the custody of the public monies, shall, before he receive such monies, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties, to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such monies when required by the President or Legislature; and no monies shall be drawn from the Treasury, but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.

SEC. 5. All ambassadors and other public Ministers and Consuls, the Secretary of State, of War, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, the Attorney General, and Postmaster General, shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries

public, shall hold their office for the term of two years, from the date of their respective commissions; but may be removed from office within that time by the President, at his pleasure; and all other officers whose term of office may not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President.

SEC. 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by the President, upon the address of both branches of the Legislature, stating the particular reasons for his removal.

SEC. 7. No person shall be eligible to the office of President, who has not been a citizen of this Republic for at least five years, and shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years; and who shall not be possessed of unincumbered real estate, of not less value than six hundred dollars.

SEC. 8. The President shall at stated times receive for his services, a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected. And before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

I do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Republic of Liberia, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution, and enforce the laws of the Republic of Liberia.

ARTICLE IV.

Judicial Department.

SECTION 1. The Judicial power of this Republic shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such subordinate courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the Supreme Courts, and all other judges of courts, shall hold their office during good behavior; but may be removed by the President, on the address of two-thirds of both houses for that purpose, or by impeachment and conviction thereon. The judges shall have salaries established by law, which may be increased, but not diminished during their continuance in office. They shall not receive any other perquisite or emoluments whatever, from parties or others on account of any duty required of them.

SEC. 2. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls, and those to which the Republic shall be a party. In all other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the legislature shall from time to time make.

ARTICLE V.

Miscellaneous Provisions.

SECTION 1. All laws now in force in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and not repugnant to this constitution, shall be in force as the laws of the Republic of Liberia, until they shall be repealed by the Legislature.

SEC. 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the Republic, until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead pursuant to this Constitution.

SEC. 3. All towns and municipal corporations within this Republic, constituted under the laws of the Commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges, and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office, and act under the authority of this Republic, in the same manner and with the like powers as they now possess under the laws of said Commonwealth.

SEC. 4. The first election of President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives shall be held on the first Tuesday in October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-seven, in the same manner as elections of members of the Council are chosen in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and the votes shall be certified and returned to the Colonial Secretary, and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him as it is now by law provided in case of such members of Council.

SEC. 5. All other elections of President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years, to be held and regulated in such manner as the Legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the Secretary of State, who shall open the same, and forthwith issue notice of the election to the persons apparently so elected Senators and Representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the Legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected Senators and Representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected, shall proceed to organise themselves accordingly as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted, and declared by the House of Representatives. And if no person shall appear to have a majority of

The Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration.

such votes, the Senators, and Representatives present, shall in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest numbers of votes, a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

SEC. 6. The Legislature shall assemble once at least in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

SEC. 7. Every legislator and other officer appointed under this Constitution, shall, before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe a solemn oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of this Republic, and faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of such office. The Presiding officer of the Senate shall administer such oath or affirmation to the President, in convention of both houses; and the President shall administer the same to the Vice President, to the Senators, and to the Representatives in like manner. If the President is unable to attend, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court may administer the oath or affirmation to him, at any place, and also to the Vice President, Senators, and Representatives, in Convention. Other officers may take such oath or affirmation before the President, Chief Justice, or any other person who may be designated by law.

SEC. 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the Constitution or by law.

SEC. 9. Officers created by this Constitution which the circumstances of the Republic do not require that they shall be filled, shall not be filled until the Legislature shall deem it necessary.

SEC. 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before or after marriage.

Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent, and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise or otherwise.

SEC. 11. In all cases in which estates are insolvent the widow shall be entitled to one-third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one-third of the personal estate, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her, by devise or otherwise.

SEC. 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this Republic unless he be a citizen of the same. Nevertheless this

article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, so long as the property or estate is applied to its legitimate purposes.

SEC. 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic.

SEC. 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen or citizens from the aborigines of this country, for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates in fee simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

SEC. 15. The improvement of the native tribes and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry being a cherished object of this Government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same; and the Legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes by the appropriation of money.

SEC. 16. The existing regulations of the American Colonization Society, in the Commonwealth, relative to emigrants, shall remain the same in the Republic, until regulated by compact between the Society and the Republic; nevertheless, the Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration. And it shall be among the first duties of the Legislature to take measures to arrange the future relations between the American Colonization Society and this Republic.

SEC. 17. This Constitution may be altered whenever two thirds of both branches of the Legislature shall deem it necessary. In which case the alterations or amendments shall first be considered and approved by the Legislature, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each branch, and afterwards by them submitted to the people, and adopted by two-thirds of all the electors at the next biennial meeting for the election of Senators and Representatives.

Done in Convention at Monrovia, in the county of Montserado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and of the Republic the first.

The Constitution submitted to the people.—Insignia of the Republic of Liberia.

In witness whereof we have hereto set our names.

S. BENEDICT, <i>President</i> ,	} Montserrado County.
J. N. LEWIS,	
H. TEAGE,	
BEVERLY R. WILSON,	
ELIJAH JOHNSON,	
J. B. GRIPON,	} Grand Bassa County.
JOHN DAY,	
A. W. GARDNER,	
AMOS HERRING,	
EPHRAIM TILLER,	
R. E. MURRAY, <i>County of Sinoe.</i>	
J. W. PROUT, <i>Secretary of Convention.</i>	

MONROVIA, July 29, 1847.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Having finished our labors, we now have the honor of submitting to your consideration, through the governor, that constitution which in our opinion will best suit the peculiar circumstances of the people of this infant Republic. That our labors will meet the full approbation of every individual citizen, is scarcely to be expected; we trust, however, that a large majority of our fellow citizens will approve our doings, and adopt the constitution herewith submitted.

In our deliberations, we endeavored to keep our minds steadily fixed upon the great objects of civil government, and have done what we conceived to be best for the general interest of this rising Republic.—We endeavored carefully to arrange every subject that might possibly arise, calculated to disturb in the least the friendly feeling which now so happily subsists between the different counties of this Republic.—We felt deeply the importance and magnitude of the work submitted to our hands, and have done the very best we could in order to afford general satisfaction.

In view of the peculiarity of our circumstances, the new position we have assumed is indeed a gigantic one, and the government now calls to its support every citizen who is at all concerned for the safety and future prosperity of this our only home.

Knowing, however, that our cause is just, we feel encouraged, and believe that under God, by a speedy perseverance, we shall fully succeed.

In publishing to the world our *Independence*, we have thought proper to accompany that document with a declaration of the causes which induced us to leave the land of our nativity, and to form settlements on this coast, and also an appeal to the sympathies of all civilized nations, soliciting their aid and protection, and especially that they would, notwithstanding our peculiar circumstances, speedily recognize our *Independence*.

And that the flag of this Republic at no distant day may be seen floating upon every breeze, and in every land respected.

It is our earnest desire that the affairs of this Government may be so conducted as to merit the approbation of all Christendom, and restore to Africa her long lost glory, and that Liberia under the guidance of Heaven may continue a happy asylum for our long oppressed race, and a blessing to the benighted and degraded natives of this vast peninsula. To secure which is our ardent wish and prayer.

With great respect, we have the honor of being, your obedient and humble servants.

By the unanimous order of the Convention.

SAMUEL BENEDICT,
President.

FLAG AND SEAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

THE following Flag and Seal were adopted by the convention, as the insignia of the Republic of Liberia, and ordered to be employed to mark its nationality.

Flag: six red stripes with five white stripes alternately displayed longitudinally. In the upper angle of the flag, next to the spear, a square blue ground covering in depth five stripes. In the centre of the blue, one white star.

Seal: A dove on the wing with an open scroll in its claws. A view of the ocean with a ship under sail. The sun just

emerging from the waters. A palm tree, and at its base a plough and spade. Beneath the emblems, the words REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, and above the emblems, the national motto, THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE.

The former seal of the Commonwealth is ordered to be used until that for the Republic shall be engraved.

By order of the Convention.

S. BENEDICT,
President.

J. J. Roberts' Inaugural Address.

[From Africa's Luminary—Extra.]

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

*Of his Excellency, J. J. ROBERTS, President of the Republic of Liberia.
Delivered at the first meeting of the Legislature of the Republic, January 3d, 1848.*

SINCE the Report and preceding parts of this appendix went to press, we have received the following very interesting document which we stop the press to lay before our readers :

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Before I proceed to add the solemnity of an oath to the obligations imposed on me, it is with great pleasure I avail myself of the occasion now presented, to express the profound impressions made on me by the call of my fellow citizens to the station, and the duties, to which I am now about to pledge myself. So distinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding from the deliberate suffrage of my fellow citizens, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion ; as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed. But I feel particularly gratified at this evidence of the confidence of my fellow citizens, in as much as it strengthens the impression on me that my endeavors to discharge faithfully the duties which devolved on me as Chief Executive officer of the Commonwealth, during the last six years of our political connection with the American Colonization Society, have been favorably estimated. I nevertheless meet the responsibilities of this day with feelings of the deepest solicitude. I feel, fellow citizens, that the present is a momentous period in the history of Liberia ; and I assure you, under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the crisis, I am sensible that both the honor and the responsibility allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

We have just entered upon a new and important career. To give effect to all the measures and powers of the government, we have found it necessary to remodel our Constitution and to erect ourselves into an independent State ; which, in its infancy is exposed to numberless hazards and perils, and which can never attain to maturity ; or ripen into firmness, unless it is managed with affectionate assiduity, and guarded by great abilities ; I therefore deeply deplore my want of talents, and feel my mind filled with anxiety and uneasiness to find myself so unequal to the duties of the important station to which I am called. When I reflect upon the weight and magnitude now belonging to the station, and the many difficulties which, in the nature of things, must necessarily attend it, I feel more like retreating from the responsible position, than attempting to go forward in the discharge of the duties of my office.

Indeed, gentlemen of the Legislature, if I had less reliance upon your co-operation, and the indulgence and support of a reflecting people, and felt less deeply a consciousness of the duty I owe my country, and a conviction of the guidance of an all wise Providence in the management of our political affairs,—I should be compelled to shrink from the task.—I, however, enter upon the duties assigned me, relying upon your wisdom and virtue to supply my defects ; and under the full conviction that my fellow citizens at large, who, on the most trying occasions, have always manifested a degree of patriotism,

Settlement of the Colony.—Intercourse and difficulties with British traders.

perseverance, and fidelity, that would reflect credit upon the citizens of any country, will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their own free choice.

While I congratulate my fellow citizens on the dawn of a new and more perfect government, I would also remind them of the increased responsibility they too have assumed.

Indeed, if there ever was a period in the annals of Liberia, for popular jealousy to be awakened, and popular virtue to exert itself, it is the present. Other eras, I know, have been marked by dangers and difficulties which "tried men's souls," but whatever was their measure, disappointment and overthrow have generally been their fate. That patriotism and virtue which distinguish men, of every age, clime and color, who are determined to be free, never forsook that little band of patriots—the pioneers in this noble enterprise—in the hour of important trial. At a time, when they were almost without arms, ammunition, discipline, or government—a mere handful of isolated christian pilgrims, in pursuit of civil and religious liberty, surrounded by savage and warlike tribes bent upon their ruin and total annihilation—with "a staff and a sling" only, as it were, they determined in the name of the "Lord of Hosts" to stand their ground and defend themselves to the last extremity against their powerful adversary. And need I remind you, fellow citizens, how signally Almighty God delivered them, and how he has hitherto prospered and crowned all our efforts with success.

These first adventurers, inspired by the love of liberty and equal rights, supported by industry and protected by Heaven, became inured to toil, to hardships, and to war. In spite, however, of every obstacle, they obtained a settlement, and happily, un-

der God, succeeded in laying here the foundation of a free government. Their attention, of course, was then turned to the security of those rights for which they had encountered so many perils and inconveniencies.—For this purpose, a constitution or form of Government, anomalous it is true, was adopted.

Under the circumstances, expediency required that certain powers of the government should be delegated to the American Colonization Society, their patrons and benefactors—with the understanding that whenever the colonies should feel themselves capable of assuming the whole responsibility of the government, that institution would resign the delegated power, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

At that time it was scarcely supposed, I presume, that the colonies would advance so rapidly as to make it necessary, or even desirable on the part of the colonists, to dissolve that connection within the short space of twenty-five years; such, however, is the case: necessity has demanded it.

Under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society, these infant settlements soon began to prosper and flourish; and a profitable trade, in a few years, opened an intercourse between them and the subjects and citizens of foreign countries. This intercourse eventually involved us into difficulties with British traders, and of consequence with the British government, which could not be settled, for the want of certain powers in the government here, not provided for in the Constitution.—Nor indeed would the British government recognize in the people of Liberia the rights of sovereignty—"such as imposing custom dues and levying taxes upon British commerce"—so long as their political connection with the Colonization Society continued. Under these

The intention of the Colonization Society to prosecute its work as vigorously as heretofore.

circumstances, a change in our relations with the Society, and the adoption of a new constitution, were deemed, by a large majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth absolutely necessary. Such also was the opinion of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, who recommended the measure as the only means of relieving the government from these embarrassments, and the citizens from innumerable inconveniences.

In view of these facts, to have shrunk from the responsibility, notwithstanding weighty reasons, adverse to the measure, suggested themselves, would have betrayed a weakness and timidity unbecoming freemen.

Therefore, on full consideration of all the circumstances, it appeared that the period had arrived when it became the duty of the people of Liberia to assume a new position:—such a one that foreign powers would consider them an independent nation.

As you are aware, fellow citizens, the independence of Liberia has been the subject of much speculation, and some animadversion, both at home and abroad.

1st. We are told that the pecuniary assistance the government here has hitherto received from the Colonization Society will now cease; and that in a few years we will find ourselves groaning under enormous taxes, or the affairs of the government will be exceedingly embarrassed, if not totally paralyzed.

I am persuaded, however, that this conclusion by no means follows. To what extent, if at all, the Society contemplates withdrawing the pecuniary aid hitherto granted to the Commonwealth, from the new government, I am not advised; nor have I any data upon which to form even an opinion in regard to it. We have this assurance, however, from Rev. Mr. Mc-

Lain, Secretary of the Society, "That the interest of the Board of Directors, in all that concerns the people of Liberia, will not be diminished—but rather increased—by the alteration in the present relations subsisting between them and the American Colonization Society; and that it is the intention of the Society to prosecute its work as vigorously as heretofore, and on the same high and liberal principles."²

We are truly, fellow-citizens, under many obligations to the Colonization Society; indeed, it is impossible for one people to have stronger ties upon the gratitude of another, than that Society has upon the people of Liberia.

To the wisdom, philanthropy, and magnanimity of the members of the Colonization Society, who, for more than a quarter of a century, have watched with the deepest solicitude the progress of these colonies, and have devoted much of their time and substance to support them, we owe, under God, the political, civil, and religious liberty and independence we this day enjoy; and I have no doubt, in my own mind, but that they will continue to aid us in every way the circumstances of the Society will admit of.

The necessity of imposing additional taxes upon the people to meet the additional expenses of the government, consequent upon the new order of things, is very evident; but I confess, fellow-citizens, I can see no just grounds of fear that they will be enormous or oppressive.

It is true, that for the first few years, in the absence of any foreign assistance, we may find our finances somewhat limited; perhaps barely sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the government; but in a country like ours, abounding in a sufficiency of natural resources, which are so easily developed, it is

Population of Liberia proper.—Capabilities of colored people for self-government.

scarcely probable that the government at any time will be greatly embarrassed—certainly not totally paralyzed.

2dly. It has been urged that the numerical strength of the government is yet too small; and that we have not sufficient intelligence, experience, or wealth, to command respect abroad; and that in the event foreign powers should refuse to acknowledge our independence, the embarrassments of the government, and its citizens, will be increased rather than diminished.

Now, according to the best computation I am at present able to make—and which I believe is pretty nearly correct—the population of Liberia proper—including, of course, the aboriginal inhabitants who have incorporated themselves with us, and subscribed to the constitution and laws of the Republic—is now upwards of eighty thousand; and we may reasonably suppose that the inhabitants will increase almost in the ratio of compound interest. I have no doubt that the natural population of the Republic, in the course of twenty years, will be doubled; and we have great reason to believe that the number of immigrants arriving from America, and perhaps other countries, will also be very considerable. The free people of color in the United States, wearied with beating the air to advance themselves to equal immunities with the whites in that country, and tired of the oppression which weighs them down *there*, are seriously turning their attention to Liberia as the only asylum they can flee to and be happy.

While we exceedingly lament the want of greater intelligence and more experience to fit us for the proper, or more perfect, management of our public affairs, we flatter ourselves that the adverse circumstances under which we so long labored in

the land of our birth; and the integrity of our motives will plead our excuse for our want of abilities: and that in the candor and charity of an impartial world, our well-meant, however feeble, efforts will find an apology. I am also persuaded that no magnanimous nation will seek to abridge our rights, or withhold from the Republic those civilities, and “that comity which marks the friendly intercourse between civilized and independent communities”—in consequence of our weakness and present poverty.

And with respect to the independence of Liberia. I know it to be a favorable object with many great and good men, both in Europe and in the United States; and I have great reason to believe with several European powers, who entertain commercial views.

3d. We are gravely accused, fellow-citizens, of acting prematurely and without due reflection, in this whole matter, with regard to the probable consequences of taking into our own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of our foreign relations; and I have also heard it remarked, that fears are entertained, by some persons abroad, that the citizens of Liberia, when thrown upon their own resources, will probably not sustain the government, and that anarchy and its attendant ruins will be the result of their independence.

The impression, however, that the people have acted prematurely, and without regard to consequences, is evidently erroneous. And, to judge of the future from the past, I have no hesitancy in asserting that the fears entertained respecting the disposition of the people here to insubordination, are totally groundless. No people, perhaps, have exhibited greater devotion for their government and institutions, and have submitted

The people of Liberia have not acted rashly or unadvisedly with respect to their independence.

more readily to lawful authority than the citizens of Liberia; which, indeed, must be obvious to every one at all familiar with the past history of these colonies. But to return. It is well known that the object of independence has been agitating the public mind for more than five years, and that every consideration, for and against it, has been warmly discussed.

I am sensible, however, it is no uncommon thing for men to be warm in a cause, and yet not know why it is they are warm. In such cases the passion of one is lighted up by the passion of another, and the whole circle is in a flame; but the mind in the meantime is like a dark chamber, without a single ray of light to pervade it; in this case it will happen, that when the hasty passion shall have spent its force, all virtuous and patriotic resolutions which it kindled up will also die with it. As in the great affairs of religion, a strong flash of ideas on the fancy may excite a combustion of devotion; but unless the reason is engaged to feed and supply the burning, it will die away, and neither light nor heat will be found remaining in it.

It was the commendation of a certain people of whom we read in the Bible, that when the gospel was first preached to them, "they searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." Those who, without examination, had received it, without examination might also give it up; but this more "honorable" people had maturely weighed the doctrine, and embracing it, they gave ground to believe, that as they were rational, so they would be persevering Christians.

The political concerns of Liberia have been equally the objects of attentive consideration. And it affords the most pleasing reflection that the people of these colonies have not

acted rashly or unadvisedly with respect to their independence; but all the measures which have been adopted in regard to it, are strongly marked with great caution and matured deliberation, and will bear the strictest scrutiny of reason and conscience.

The time has been, I admit, when men—without being chargeable with timidity, or with a disposition to undervalue the capacities of the African race, might have doubted the success of the Colonization enterprise, and the feasibility of establishing an independent Christian state on this coast, composed of and conducted wholly by colored men,—but, fellow-citizens, that time has past. The American Colonization Society has redeemed its pledge, and I believe in my soul, that the permanency of the government of the Republic of Liberia is now fixed upon as firm a basis as human wisdom is capable of devising. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that the Divine Disposer of human events, after having separated us from the house of bondage, and led us safely through so many dangers, towards the land of liberty and promise, will leave the work of our political redemption, and consequent happiness, unfinished; and either permit us to perish in a wilderness of difficulties, or suffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of prejudices, from whose oppression he has mercifully delivered us with his outstretched arm.

And, fellow-citizens, it must afford the most heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction to every friend of Liberia, and real lover of liberty in general, to observe by what a fortunate train of circumstances and incidents the people of these colonies have arrived at absolute freedom and independence. When we look abroad and see by what slow and painful steps, marked with blood and ills of every kind,

The redemption of Africa.

other states of the world have advanced to liberty and independence; we cannot but admire and praise that all gracious Providence, who, by his unerring ways, has, with so few sufferings on our part, compared with other states, led us to this happy stage in our progress towards those great and important objects. And that it is the will of Heaven that mankind should be free, is clearly evidenced by the wealth, vigor, virtue and consequent happiness of all free states. But the idea that Providence will establish such governments as he shall deem most fit for his creatures, and will give them wealth, influence, and happiness, without their efforts, is palpably absurd. In short, God's moral government of the earth is always performed by the intervention of second causes. Therefore, fellow-citizens, while with pious gratitude we survey the frequent interpositions of Heaven in our behalf, we ought to remember, that as the disbelief of an overruling providence is atheism, so an absolute confidence of having our government relieved from every embarrassment, and its citizens made respectable and happy by the immediate hand of God, without our own exertions, is the most culpable presumption. Nor have we any reason to expect that he will miraculously make Liberia a paradise, and deliver us, in a moment of time, from all the ills and inconveniences, consequent upon the peculiar circumstances under which we are placed, merely to convince us that he favors our cause and government.

Sufficient notifications of his will are always given, and those who will not then believe, neither would they believe though one should rise from the dead to inform them. Who can trace the progress of these colonies, and mark the incidents of the wars in which they have been engaged, without seeing evident tokens of pro-

vidential favor. Let us, therefore, inflexibly persevere in exerting our most strenuous efforts, in an humble and rational dependence on the great Governor of all the world, and we have the fairest prospects of surmounting all the difficulties which may be thrown in our way. And that we may expect, and that we shall have difficulties, sore difficulties yet to contend against, in our progress to maturity, is certain:— And, as the political happiness or wretchedness of ourselves and our children, and of generations yet unborn, is in our hands, nay more, the redemption of Africa from the deep degradation, superstition, and idolatry in which she has so long been involved, it becomes us to lay our shoulders to the wheel, and manfully resist every obstacle which may oppose our progress in the great work which lies before us. The Gospel, fellow citizens, is yet to be preached to vast numbers inhabiting this dark continent, and I have the highest reason to believe, that it was one of the great objects of the Almighty in establishing these colonies, that they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations of this country; and to what work more noble could our powers be applied, than that of bringing up from darkness, debasement, and misery, our fellow-men, and shedding abroad over them the light of science and christianity.— The means of doing so, fellow-citizens, are in our reach, and if we neglect, or do not make use of them, what excuse shall we make to our Creator and final Judge? This is a question of the deepest concern to us all, and which, in my opinion, will materially effect our happiness in the world to come. And surely, if it ever has been incumbent on the people of Liberia to know truth and to follow it, it is now. Rouse, therefore, fellow-citizens, and do your

Appeal to the citizens of the Republic of Liberia.

duty like men; and be persuaded, that Divine Providence, as heretofore, will continue to bless all your virtuous efforts.

But if there be any among us dead to all sense of honor and love of their country; if deaf to all the calls of liberty, virtue, and religion; if forgetful of the benevolence and magnanimity of those who have procured this asylum for them, and the future happiness of their children; if neither the examples nor the success of other nations, the dictates of reason and of nature, or the great duties they owe to their God, themselves, and their posterity have no effect upon them;—if, neither the injuries they received in the land whence they came, the prize they are contending for, the future blessings or curses of their children, the applause or reproach of all mankind, the approbation or displeasure of the great Judge, or the happiness or misery consequent upon their conduct, in this and a future state, can move them; then let them be assured, that they deserve to be slaves, and are entitled to nothing but anguish and tribulation. Let them banish, forever, from their minds, the hope of ever obtaining that freedom, reputation, and happiness, which, as men, they are entitled to. Let them forget every duty, human and divine, remember not that they have children, and beware how they call to mind the justice of the Supreme Being: let them return into slavery, and hug

their chains, and be a reproach and a by-word among all nations.

But I am persuaded, fellow-citizens, that we have none such among us;—that every citizen will do his duty, and exert himself to the utmost of his abilities to sustain the honor of his country, promote her interests, and the interests of his fellow-citizens, and to hand down unimpaired to future generations the freedom and independence we this day enjoy.

As to myself, fellow-citizens, I assure you I never have been indifferent to what concerns the interests of Liberia—my adopted country:—and I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of duty, or of justice: the weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding may, no doubt will, produce errors of judgment. I repeat, therefore, that I shall need all the indulgence I have hitherto received at your hands. I shall need too the favor of that Being, in whose hands we are, who has led us, as Israel of old, from our native land, and planted us in a country abounding in all the necessities and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his Providence, and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do, shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

ERRATUM.—On page 17, sixth line from bottom of first column, read *selected* instead of *liberated*.

